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MEMORIALS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MYLES COVERDALE,

SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF EXETER;

WHO FIRST

TRANSLATED THE WHOLE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH:

TOGETHER WITH

DIVERS MATTERS RELATING TO THE

PROMULGATION OF THE BIBLE,

IN THE

REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

LONDON:

SAMUEL BAGSTER, 15, PATERNOSTER ROW;

AT THE WAREHOUSE FOR BIBLES, NEW TESTAMENTS, PRAYER BOOKS, PSALTERS, AND CONCORDANCES, IN ANCIENT AND MODERN LANGUAGES.

Πολλαι μεν θνητοις Γλωτται, μια δ' Αθανατοισιν.

MDCCCXXXVIII.

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PREFACE.

THE life of one of our early Reformers, a man, celebrated as being the first who translated the whole Bible into our mother tongue,* and who is not less to be admired for his piety and learning, than for his many excellent qualities of heart and mind, cannot, it is conceived, prove altogether uninteresting; particularly as the incidents of his eventful career are intimately connected with that remarkable period of our history, the æra of the Reformation.

* A reprint of this important translation of the Bible, which was brought out in the year 1535, is now in the press, and will be published on the day of the Queen's Coronation. The valuable copy of the first edition used by the printer, was from the rich and extensive library at Kensington Palace. The loan was granted to the Publisher by the royal owner in the same liberal and gracious manner in which every request is met that has for its object the diffusion of knowledge, and the advancement of literature. This Bible of COVERDALE and the reprinted Testament of TYNDAL are two of the most valuable and curious works, that modern enterprise has ever ventured to offer to the notice of the public.

It was on searching for particulars of Coverdale's life, that the total absence of any thing like a satisfactory or consistent account of him, first suggested to the author the idea of the present work; and he was the more confirmed in this design, when he found how erroneous were the views generally entertained, respecting the measures adopted by King Henry the Eighth, with regard to the promulgation of the Scriptures in English. He has therefore tried to supply these wants by as complete a memoir of Coverdale, and as correct an account of the measures taken by the government of that period, to suppress or put forth the Bible, as the materials that existed would enable him to do.

With regard to the list that he has given of Coverdale's works, contained in the Appendix, it is to be observed that, as must ever be the case with old and rare books, little opportunity has offered of verifying the existence of many of them; but the precaution has been adopted of citing the authority for each book, and the reader may therefore judge for himself, as to the degree of credit to be attached to each statement.

Inner Temple,
May, 1838.

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Page 94, n. (a), *for* Art. 13, *read* Art. 15.
99, n. (e), *for* Art. 11, *read* Art. 14.
103, n. (f), *for* Art. 15, *read* Art. 18.
———(g), *for* Art. 11, *read* Art. 14.
149, n. (m), *for* Art. 9 and 10, *read* Art. 11, 12, and 13.

ORIGINAL GRANT OF COAT ARMOUR

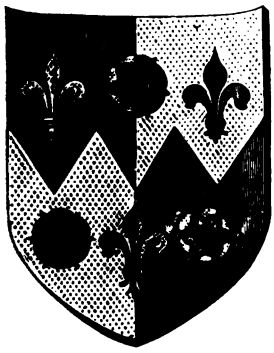
TO

MYLES COVERDALE,

FROM

THE MS. IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON.

Oībus Xri fidelibus has pntes īras inspecturis aut audituris GILBERTUS DETHICK alīs garter miles principalis herauldus et primarius Rex Armor inclitissimi ordinis garterii salutem. Equitas vult et racio postulat qd homines virtuosi laudabilis dispocitionis et vite honorabilis sint p eor merita honorati et remunerati in suis psonis existentes in hac vita mortali tam brevi et transitoria et in quolibet loco honoris p ceteris exaltati demonstrando signa et exempla virtutis honoris ac etiam humanitatis videlicet ea intencione ut p eorum exemplā alii magis conentur vitam suam in actibus operibusq clarissimis exercere quibus assequantur et impetrent famam antique nobilitatis et ideo Ego pdcus Gilbertus alīs garter non solum ex divulgata fama verum etiam ex meo ceterorumq fidelium fide dignor testimonio sum veraciter instructus et informatus qd Rdus in Xro pr Milo Coverdalus Exonien Epus diu in virtute claruit et pseveravit et in oībus suis actibus et moribus adeo bene sobrie discrete atq honorifice se gessit adeo ut mereat' et dignus sit in omnibus locis honoris admitti numerari et recipi in numerū et consortium aliorū veterum et illustrium virorum. Quo circa ob memoriam ejus tante virtutis et dignitatis p auctem et ptatem mihi Gilberto officioq meo p illm dn nrm Regem sptr concess annex et attribut ordinavi pfato Miloni epo andicto scutum cum insigniis honoris sicut hic gallice declarabitur *Cest a scavoir de goules et dor quartele endente p fesse troys fleurs et troys roses entrechanges du champ*



ut latius in scuto hic depicto apparet habend & tenendū eidm Miloni et ut ille in his ornatus sit ad ejus honorem inppetuū In cujus Rei testimoniū has pntes īras manu meā

subscripsi ac sigillum meū una cū sigillo officii mei Regis armorū his p̄ntibus apposui. Dat primo die mens̄ Septemb̄ Anno Regi Regis Edwardi sexti Dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hib̄nie Regis &c.

*** There is no exemplification of the coat attached, nor is the date of the year affixed to this grant. It was discovered in an un-indexed volume in the College of Arms, by the Rev. R. H. Barham, who kindly furnished it for this work, together with the literal translation which follows.

(TRANSLATION.)

To all Christian people who may see or hear of these presents, Gilbert Dethick, otherwise Garter, Knight, Chief Herald, and Principal King at Arms of the most renowned Order of the Garter, sends health.

Justice wills and reason requires that men of virtuous and praiseworthy disposition and honourable life, should for their deserts be honoured and rewarded in their own persons while yet in this mortal life, so brief and transitory, exhibiting signs and examples of virtue, honour, and also of courtesy; to wit, with the intent that through their examples others may the more endeavour to pass their lives in actions and deeds of the best repute, whereby they may acquire and attain the reputation of antient nobility. Wherefore, I the aforesaid Gilbert, otherwise Garter, being, not only by common fame, but also by my own knowledge and by the testimony of divers credible and trustworthy persons truly instructed and informed that the Reverend Father in Christ Myles Coverdale Bishop of Exeter hath long been eminent for and continued in virtue, and in all his actions and manners hath borne himself fairly, soberly, discreetly, and honourably, so that he deserveth and is worthy to be admitted, accounted, and received into the number and society of other antient and illustrious persons.

Wherefore for a memorial of his so great virtue and worth, by the authority and power to me the said Gilbert, and to my office, by our illustrious Lord the King especially given, annexed and granted, I have ordained to the said Myles, the Bishop aforesaid, a shield with insignia of honour such as shall be here in the French language declared.

That is to say of gules and or quarterly indented by fess three flowers and three roses counterchanged of the field as more plainly in the shield here depicted doth appear, to have and to hold to him the said Myles, and that he may in them be adorned to his honour for ever.

In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents with my hand, and also to these presents have affixed my seal together with the seal of my office of King at Arms.

Given the first day of the month of September in the Year of our Lord King Edward the Sixth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland King.

MEMORIALS OF

MYLES COVERDALE,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

CHAPTER I.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF COVERDALE NOT KNOWN. — IS EDUCATED AT CAMBRIDGE, IN THE MONASTERY OF THE AUGUSTINS. — STATE OF LEARNING AT THE UNIVERSITY. — COMMENCEMENT OF REFORMED DOCTRINES. — CROMWELL, AFTERWARDS EARL OF ESSEX, AN EARLY PATRON OF COVERDALE. — DR. BARNES, THE MASTER OF THE AUGUSTIN PRIORY, HIS ARREST. — COVERDALE PROFESSES THE NEW TENETS. — RECANTATION OF ONE TOPLEY, IN WHICH HE STATES THAT COVERDALE WAS THE MEANS OF LEADING HIM INTO HERESY. — COVERDALE THEREFORE, FOR FEAR OF PERSECUTION, DETERMINES TO LEAVE ENGLAND.

MYLES COVERDALE, the subject of the present work, was born in the year MCCCCLXXXVIII, in the county of York. His early life is little known; and who or what were his parents cannot now be ascertained.

That no account should be handed down to us of the parentage and birth of this eminent man, will be matter of little surprise, when we observe how carelessly and superficially events, that now seem to us

of the highest importance, are treated by the early chroniclers and biographers. And what may be a still stronger reason for this neglect is, that, as the first notice taken of him mentions him to have been a monk of the Augustine order, it was probably not easy, even for his contemporaries, except from his own relation, to give any light as to the place of his birth, or who were his parents.

When a person devoted himself to a monastic life, he was regarded as a being cut off from the world. Its cares, and pains, and tumults, were not to disturb the mind of him, who was consecrated to the service of his God. He was to be superior to the frailties of human feelings; and because the heart would still fondly turn to thoughts of joy and pleasure, every method to alienate his affections from worldly things, and to break the ties that associations and recollections would necessarily strengthen, was had resort to. With this view, the monk, on entering the convent, formally renounced the name that he had hitherto been known by, and assumed a new one, which was such as suited the fancy or inclination of each individual.

There is little doubt, therefore, that Coverdale was a personal, not an inherited name; and as all writers agree in stating that he was born in Yorkshire,[a] it may not be unfair to presume that he took his name from the place of his birth, and that, as the learned Mr. Whitaker suggests,[b] we are therefore justified in

[a] Bale, Hooker, Godwin, Fuller, Strype, &c.
[b] History of Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 16.

assuming him to have been a native of the district of Coverdale, in Richmondshire.

He was brought up at the convent of the Augustines at Cambridge, of which order he professed himself a brother.[c] Cambridge at that time was in a state of lamentable ignorance. No polite literature was there known or encouraged. The reading of the ancient Latin authors was confined to a very few, and Greek and Hebrew were languages scarcely heard of. Indeed, when some began to study these languages, in order to understand the Scriptures in the original, the ignorant monks actually preached against them, calling Greek a language newly discovered,—the cause of all the heresies,—and Hebrew a language lately started up, the learners of which turned Hebrews.[d] Nothing, in fact, was taught at Cambridge but the learning of the schools, a crabbed philosophy, which neither rendered the mind more expanded, nor was of any practical utility to the possessor.

The commencement of the reformation in Cambridge was amongst a few learned men. The disputes in Germany concerning matters of religion had awakened the attention of all Europe; and the writings of the reformers which were now brought

[c] This convent shared the general fate, on the dissolution of the convents in 1539. Its site was pointed out by Carter, (History of Cambridge, p. 17) in 1753, as being that spot of ground, which lay between Free-school Lane and Slaughter-house Lane; having St. Thomas's Lays on the north, Pease Hill on the south, Free-school Lane on the east, and Slaughter-house Lane on the west.

[d] Hody de Bibl. text. orig. lib. iv. p. 465.

into England and eagerly perused, began to gain ground. Although those who kept these books were obliged to use all secrecy, to avoid being punished as heretics; yet the study of the Scriptures in their original language was thought to be open to all men, and they who had sufficient knowledge were very diligent in studying them. But even this was objected to; for Erasmus tells us, that not only was much opposition made to his publishing the New Testament in its original language, but that one college in particular, at Cambridge, absolutely forbad the use of it. "These," says he, "object to us the "feigned authority of synods, and magnify the great "peril of the Christian faith, and the danger of the "church, which they pretend to support with their "shoulders, that are much fitter to prop a waggon. "And these clamours they disperse among the igno-"rant and superstitious populace, with whom, having "the reputation of being great divines, they are very "loth to have their opinions called in question, and "are afraid that when they quote the Scripture wrong, "as they often do, the authority of the Greek and "Hebrew verity should be cast in their teeth, and "that, by-and-by, appear to be a dream, which was "by them given out for an oracle."[*]

The facility of disseminating doctrines which was afforded by the recent introduction of the art of printing, was one of the great means of furthering the Reformation. So alarmed were some of the ignorant and bigoted priests at the rapid strides of

[*] Lewis's transl. Bible, p. 55, incorrectly numbered as p. 71.

intellectual advancement, which were by this means on every side manifesting themselves, that one of them, the vicar of Croydon, is said to have thus expressed himself, in a sermon which he preached at Paul's Cross:—"We must root out printing, or "printing will root out us."[f]

We can easily imagine what an astounding discovery it must have been for men brought up in a strict adherence to a particular form of religion, to find on a sudden that their faith was misplaced, and that the religion which they had professed, and the strict tenets of which they had held, was not that which would lead them into the path of eternal salvation. To find that they could no longer conscientiously observe those rites and ceremonies which the Roman church, more than any other, so rigidly demanded, must have placed them in a most perplexing situation. The number of those whose minds began to be enlightened in matters of religion was so limited, their influence so slight, that at first to have openly braved the power of a persecuting and unrelenting church, could have served no purpose. They therefore kept their opinions concealed; and, except among themselves, none suspected that the tenets they were obliged outwardly to profess, were so opposed to those they really held. But at the same time they neglected not to obtain converts, and they held private meetings for the discussing and setting forth of their religious opinions.

[f] Fox's Acts and Monuments, quoted in Lewis's transl. Bible, p. 54, incorrectly numbered as p. 70.

They generally assembled at a house called the White Horse, which was close to St. John's College. And this place was chosen as most convenient, because, as Fox tells us,[s] they who were of King's College and of Queen's College could enter at the back privately, and without being discovered.

Among their number was Dr. Barnes, the prior or master of the house of the Augustines, a man of great piety and erudition. He had studied at Louvain, and had there imbibed most probably, some of the opinions of the reformers, although he did not openly manifest them till afterwards. To his efforts, and to those of his scholar, Thomas Parnell, Cambridge was greatly indebted for the revival of learning, particularly the study of the Holy Scriptures. Many who were afterwards distinguished divines, were amongst the number of his pupils.

It was the good fortune of Coverdale to be under the care and guidance of so excellent a man, whose example and precepts doubtless aided in forming those qualities which were afterwards so distinguishable in the person of our bishop; although we are informed the pupil made such progress, that in time he far surpassed the master, who, incapable of the mean jealousy which ordinary minds might have felt under similar circumstances, nobly confessed his inferiority to one whom he had taught himself, but from whom he was afterwards willing to receive instruction in return.

[s] Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 517, ed. 1641. This is the edition used throughout this work.

Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, was, it would appear, a great patron of Coverdale, from a very early period. There is a letter extant[h] from Coverdale, addressed to "the ryzt wyrschypfull, and hys most "syngulare good Mastyr, Mastir Cromwell," written by him whilst at Cambridge. In it he calls to Cromwell's mind a conversation that they had together "at Mastyr Moory's howse, upon Easter eve," in which Cromwell had testified his gracious disposition towards him. He therefore entreats him by the "tendyr love of God, and for the fervent zeale "that he has to vertu and godly study," to give him his help at the present time. For "now," says he, "I "begyne to taste of Holy Schryptures; now (honour "be to God) I am sett to the most swete smell of holy "lettyres, with the godly savour of holy and awncyent "Doctoures, unto whose knowlege I can not attayne, "without dyversyte of bookys, as is not unknowne "to your most excellent wysdome. Nothyng in the "world I desyre, but books as concerning my lernyng; "they onse had, I do not dowte, but Allmyghty God "schall perfourme that in me, whych He, of Hys most "plentyfull favour and grace, haith begone." He then assures Cromwell that he will be ordered by him as concerns his behaviour, and also as concerns whatever his wisdom may suggest, relative to the education and instruction of others. This letter is dated "from the Augustyns, this May day," and is subscribed, "Your chyld and beedman in Jesu Chryst,

Frere Myles Cov̄dale."

[h] MS. Chapt. Ho. Westm. Bundle C. See Appendix, No. I.

There is no date of the year attached to this letter, as is rarely the case with letters of this period, but it is most probable that it was written before 1514. In that year, Tanner, in the short, imperfect, and incorrect account which he gives us of Coverdale, says, that he took priest's orders at Norwich, before John, Bishop of Chalcedon.[i]

It would appear from the above letter that, in the conversation that Cromwell had had with Coverdale, he had found it necessary to caution him against too openly or prematurely expressing himself on matters relative to religious tenets, and that Coverdale had accordingly promised to follow his advice. How long he continued to do so, we shall see hereafter.

Coverdale's name is mentioned as one of those who used to attend the meetings of the reformers at the White Horse,[k] and who were in mockery styled Germans, because they discoursed much about the opinions and works of the German divines. The house where they met, says Fox, was also sometimes called Germany, merely by way of mockery and contempt.[l]

These meetings continued for some time, until at last, Dr. Barnes, emboldened by his zeal, or the number of his converts, preached openly against the

[i] Biblioth. Brit. Hib. sive de Script. He gives the date MDXCIV., but the C is evidently an error of the printer. Tanner quotes no authority; but as he names the place where, and the person by whom, the title was conferred, it is most likely that he had some data to go upon, although the present writer has not been able to discover what.

[k] Stry. Parker, book i. chap. 1. Eccl. Mem. vol. i. p. 368.

[l] Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 517.

Roman Catholic doctrines, and particularly against the pride and state that the haughty Wolsey, as legate and cardinal, caused to be kept up.[m] The first Sunday that he ever preached for the truth was, says Fox, on the Sunday before Christmas day, and for this "he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall."[n] It was now shown beyond a doubt what would be the measures used with regard to those who maintained reformed opinions, when one of its chief members was thus singled out as a heretic. But whether it was that they thought that a display of their number and learning might prevent any harsh measures being used towards Barnes; or whether, their zeal and devotion could no longer be concealed, certain it is, that this measure made them altogether break their prudent secrecy.

They met together in public places, disputed openly, and attended sermons at St. Mary's and at the Augustines, which were against Roman Catholic doctrines and observances.[o] Of course the Roman Catholics resented this, by preaching in defence of their religion; and they thus went on preaching the one against the other, until within six days of Shrovetide, when suddenly came down a sergeant-at-arms from London, "and arrested Dr. Barnes openly in

[m] The pomp and wealth of the ecclesiastics were the favourite subjects of the anathemas of the reformers.

[n] Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 517. Fox does not mention the date of this circumstance, but he intimates, in his History of Wolsey, that it was about the year 1526.

[o] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 518. Strype.

" the convocation house, to make all other afraid."[p] A search was then made in the rooms of certain persons for prohibited books. Those who were suspected of having them, were in number about thirty, and doubtless Coverdale, as the friend and pupil of Barnes, was one of them. However, matters were so well managed, that they had intimation of the intended search from Dr. Farman, of Queen's, and had time to convey away or conceal the whole of them, so that not a single one was seized.

Barnes was taken up to London. He was not deserted even in this great peril by his friend and pupil, Coverdale, who accompanied him, and remained with him, and wrote for him. When Barnes was brought before Wolsey, he showed himself so unbending, that, but for the intercession of Fox and Gardiner, he would have been committed to the Tower. On the next morning he was taken before the Chapter, sitting at Westminster, and without hearing, committed to the Fleet, and the warden strictly charged that no man should speak to him. On the Saturday following, he underwent a threatening and harassing examination before the Chapter, which ended in the ordinary alternative being offered to him, either to abjure or to burn. Whilst he was in a state of agony, determining himself to win the crown of martyrdom, " Fox and they persuaded him " rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) " he should do more good in time to come, and with

[p] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 518.

" divers other persuasions which were mighty in the " sight of reason and foolish flesh." He accordingly did abjure, and performed a degrading penance at St. Paul's, at which the Cardinal attended with great pomp. He was afterwards confined as a prisoner for some time, and would, for some fresh offence that he had given, have been burnt, had he not escaped abroad.[q]

Coverdale was naturally of an enthusiastic temperament, regulated however by piety and devotion; for we are told by one who was his contemporary, and who studied at the same time with Barnes at Cambridge,[r] that whilst "others dedicated themselves in part only, " he gave himself wholly up to propagating the truth " of the gospel." He had here however in the example of his master and friend, a proof of the fate which, sooner or later, would befal him, if he still persisted in the course he was now pursuing. All the reward he could expect in this world would be persecution and suffering. But these severities, which would have cowed and terrified a more apprehensive and timid disposition, seemed but to arouse the native energy and loftiness of his mind; and, throwing aside as worthless all earthly interests and considerations, he resolved to seek only that which was most acceptable in the sight of his God and his conscience. He found now that no middle course was left him to follow.

[q] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 519. Dr. Barnes was afterwards condemned and burned for heresy in London, to which place he had returned from the continent, and where, for some time, Henry treated him with great favour. He was burned on the 20th of July, 1540.

[r] Bale, de Script. Illustr. cent. 5. ed. 1548.

He must either openly profess his reformed doctrines, or else at once renounce them. The former alternative was the only one that he felt he could follow, and he adopted it accordingly. He laid aside his habit of a monk, assumed that of a secular priest, and having abandoned his convent and order, went about preaching at different places, and arguing, with the view to convert those whom he met, from the Roman Catholic doctrines.

In the commencement of 1528, we find that he was at Bumsteed in Essex, of which Richard Fox had the cure. One Thomas Topley, an Augustine friar of Stoke Clare, who was then doing duty for Fox at Bumsteed, was induced, partly by the perusal of certain books of the reformed doctrine, and partly by means of Coverdale and Richard Fox, to cast off both his order and his habit, and to go as a secular priest. He was however informed against, and taken before Cuthbert, Bishop of London, and under the usual threat of being burnt in case of refusal, compelled to abjure. He there stated that having read a book of Wicliff's, which he found at Fox's, he was much perplexed in mind "until he heard Sir Myles "Coverdale preach, and then his mind was sore with-"drawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that "he took it then but for the remembrance of Christ his "body." He further stated, "that in Lent last past, "as he was walking in the fields at Bumsteed, with "Sir Myles Coverdale, who had preached the fourth "Sunday in Lent at Bumsteed, they did commune "together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confes-

" sion; the which Sir Myles Coverdale said and did " hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite " for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without " confession made to a priest: which opinion the re- " spondent thought to be true, and did affirm and " hold the same at that time. Also he stated that at " the said sermon made by the said Myles Coverdale " at Bumsteed, he heard him preach against wor- " shipping of images in the church, &c."[1]

From Coverdale's name being thus mentioned in so public a manner, it was clear that he could no longer remain in England. As the Bishop's attention had thus been so pointedly directed to him, as to one who was going about corrupting the weak and the credulous, and disseminating heretical and blasphemous doctrines, it did not require much foresight to see that if he once got into his hands, he could not escape except on the usual alternative of abjuring or burning. He therefore determined to make his escape from England; and as Germany and the Northern States were the only safe parts to which those of the reformed religion could betake themselves, he resolved on proceeding thither; particularly as through the means of Barnes, or his own reputation for learning and letters, he was favourably esteemed by Tyndal,[2] who was then abroad engaged in translating the Scriptures into English.

[1] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 323.

[2] Offor's Life of Tyndal, attached to the reprint of his New Testament.

CHAPTER II.

TYNDAL'S NEW TESTAMENT PUBLISHED. — PROHIBITION OF IT BY THE BISHOP OF LONDON. — WRITINGS OF SIR THOS. MORE AGAINST IT. — HALLE'S ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF THIS TRANSLATION. — COVERDALE GOES TO ANTWERP AND ASSISTS TYNDAL IN TRANSLATING THE PENTATEUCH. — PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND AGAINST TYNDAL'S NEW TESTAMENT AND THE WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS. — SEVERE PROCLAMATION OF THE KING AGAINST.—BISHOP OF NORWICH DESIRES FURTHER AUTHORITY TO SUPPRESS HERESY IN HIS DIOCESE.

AND now to look back a short period. In the year 1526, the whole of the New Testament was published in English for the first time.[a] William Tyndal translated it, and about 1500 copies of this impression were issued from the press.[b] He dared not print it in England, but brought it out at Antwerp, from whence it was sent over into England.

Several writers who have engaged in the history of our early printers, have expressed much surprise

[a] Copy in the Baptist Museum, Bristol. Imperfect one at St. Paul's. Mr. Bagster has published a reprint of this scarce and curious work.

[b] Fox's Acts and Monuments, quoted in Lewis's transl. Bible, p. 61, incorrectly numbered as p. 77.

that amongst the many valuable books they brought forth, none of them should have undertaken the most valuable of all,—the Bible. Sir Thomas More has, however, thus accounted for it. He says that by reason of the penalties ordered by Archbishop Arundel's constitution, "though the old translations that were "before Wycliff's days remained lawful and were in "some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no "printer would lyghtly be so hote to put any byble in "print at hys owne charge—and their hange upon a "doubtfull tryall whyther the fyrst copy of his trans-"lacyion was made before Wycliffs dayes or synnes. "For yff yt were made synnys yt must be approued "byfore the pryntyng." Which approbation, Sir Thomas More gives us to understand, was not then to be obtained.[c]

The constitution here referred to, was decreed by Archbishop Arundel at a convocation of his province in 1408, about twenty-four years after the death of Dr. Wicliff, against whose followers it was chiefly directed.

It began by reciting, that it was a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome himself had testified, to translate the text of the holy scripture from one idiom into another, for that in these translations the same sense was not easily retained in all; in proof of which, St. Jerome himself, although he was inspired, had averred that he had often erred: and it therefore enjoined, that no one should thereafter translate any text of holy scripture into English, by way of a book, little book, or

[c] Dyaloges, fol. 49, col. 1, ed. 1529.

tract; and that no such book, little book, or tract, should be read, either in public or in private, that was composed lately in the time of John Wicliff, or since his death, unless such translation were first approved of by the diocesan of the place, or if necessity should so require, by the provincial council; on pain of offenders herein suffering the punishment of encouragers of heretics.[d]

At the same time that this New Testament by Tyndal was printed, there were published many other books written by the reformers. Some contained attacks upon the bishops, and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and against the Pope and popish superstitions; whilst the rest were filled with disputes and dissertations on points of religion. These, together with the New Testament, were very industriously circulated, and as greedily bought up and read; "as," remarks Lewis, "it is in the nature of "man to incline to what is forbidden, and vehemently "to desire whatever is denied him." Cardinal Wolsey and the bishops did all they could to suppress these books, and to prevent the king from hearing of them; but when that could no longer be hindered, they met together to consult on the best means for effectually stopping their further circulation, and a commission was agreed upon to be given out to forbid their being read, which was done accordingly.

The prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstal,[e] against the New Testament, in pursuance of this re-

[d] Ex reg. Arundel. ii. fol. 10. const. vii. printed in Wilk. conc. M. B.
[e] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 284. Dated Oct. 23, 1526.

solution, is curious, as showing the specious pretence on which it was founded.

He says, "By the duty of our pastoral office we "are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, "provide for, root out, and put away all those things, "which seeme to tend to the perill and danger of our "subjects, and specially the destruction of their soules. "Wherefore we having understanding, by the report "of divers credible persons, and also by the evident "appearance of the matter, that many children of ini- "quity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through "extreame wickednesse, wandring from the way of "truth and the Catholike fayth, craftily have trans- "lated the new Testament into our English tongue, "intermedling therewith many hereticall articles, and "erronious opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing "the simple people, attempting by their wicked and "perverse interpretations to prophanate the Majesty "of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained un- "defiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of "God, and the true sense of the same, of the which "translation there are many bookes imprinted, some "with glosses, and some without, containing in the "English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious "poyson dispersed throughout all our Diocese of "London in great number: which truly without it "be speedily foreseene, without doubt will conta- "minate and infect the flock committed unto us with "most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous perill "and danger of the soules committed to our charge, "and the offence of God's divine Majesty."

He therefore commands every one, on pain of being excommunicated, and of being suspected of heresy, to bring to his vicar-general all such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue, within thirty days after the date thereof.

This prohibition, however, seems not to have had much effect, for a second, and then again a third edition of the New Testament, were printed within a very short space of time after printing the first. The Bishop of London, however, did all in his power to prevent their being read. He preached against them at St. Paul's, and in his sermon there, told the people that there were no fewer than two thousand texts either mistranslated, or the sense of which was perverted. With what success, we may learn from one of his hearers:[f] "Moreover, I was at Paul's Cross, when "the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the "sea, was first forefended, and truly my heart la- "mented greatly, to hear a great man preaching "against it, which shewed forth certain things that "be noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea "and not I, but likewise did many others think "verily to be none. But (alack for pity) malice can- "not say well. God help us all, and amend it."

The bishop was not more successful in another method which he used to suppress them, as we shall see presently.

Severe proceedings were at the same time taken

[f] Lambert. See his Answer to the Bishops' articles. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 416.

against those who imported or brought them over; and amongst others, John Tyndal, the translator's brother, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, were, for this offence, obliged to do penance by riding with their faces to their horses' tails to the Standard in Chepe, with the books fastened thick about them, pinned or tacked on to their gowns or cloaks, and there burning them with their own hands.

"But," says Lewis,[g] "as these forcible means had "not their end to hinder people's reading this transla- "tion of the Holy Scripture in their mother tongue, "but rather served to raise their curiosity, and set "them against those who caused these holy books to "be burnt, as being too rigorous and cruel; it was "therefore thought proper that something should be "done to satisfy the people of the reasonableness of "these proceedings."

The bishop, on this occasion, applied to Sir Thomas More, a man of great learning and piety, but unhappily very bigoted, to write against this translation and other books; "because," said he, "you are in our "vernacular tongue, as in Latin, equal to a Demos- "thenes; and you are always wont to be in every "society a sharp assertor of the Catholic verity." He therefore gave him a license to read all the heretical books lately brought over, for the purpose of controverting the doctrines maintained in them.[h]

Sir Thomas More, as if determined not to forfeit

[g] Transl. of Bible, p. 67.

[h] March 7, 1528. Reg. Tonstal. fol. 138, printed in Appdx. to Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. No. 6.

his right to the title of a Demosthenes, accordingly wrote very violently against these publications. Tyndal, in 1530, put forth a biting answer, in which, after defending himself from the charges of mistranslation and wilful error, he said, that he verily believed, "that as Judas betrayd not Christ for any loue that he "had vnto the hyghe Priestes, Scribes and Phariseis, "but onely to come by that wherfore he thirsted: "euē so M. More (as there are tokens euidēt) wrote "not these bookes for any affectiō that he bare vnto "the spiritualty or vnto the opinions which he so "barely defēdeth, but to obtaine onely that which he "was an hungred for."

Halle[i] tells us a very odd story about the New Testament, which it may interest the reader to have in his own quaint words, and we have not therefore scrupled to give it at length:—

"The .xxj. yere of Kyng Henry the .viij. Here is "to be remembred, that at this present tyme, Willyā "Tyndale had newly translated and imprinted the "Newe Testament in Englishe, and the Bishop of "London, not pleased with the translacion thereof, "debated with hymself, how he might compasse and "deuise, to destroye that false and erronious transla-"cion, (as he saied). And so it happened that one "Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of "London, and of a greate honestie, the same tyme "was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was, and "this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored

[i] Chron. fol. clxxxvi. ed. 1548. See Note A.

" William Tindale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed
" hymself to the contrary. The bishop desirous to
" haue his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the
" New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye
" them. Packyngton then hearyng that he wished
" for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lorde, if it bee your
" pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie,
" then moste of the Merchauntes of Englande that are
" here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers,
" that haue bought theim of Tyndale, and haue theim
" here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure,
" to paye for them, for otherwise I cannot come by
" them, but I must disburse money for theim, I will
" then assure you, to haue euery boke of them, that is
" imprinted and is here vnsolde. The Bishop thinkyng
" that he had God by the too, when in deede he had
" (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied,
" gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence and
" get them and with all my harte I will paie for them,
" whatsoeuer thei cost you, for the bokes are erro-
" nious and naughtes, and I entende surely to destroy
" theim all, and to burne theim at Paules Crosse.
" Agustine Packyngton came to Willyam Tyndale
" and saied, Willyam I knowe thou arte a poore man,
" and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes and bokes by
" thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered
" thy frendes, and beggered thyself, and I haue now
" gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money
" shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you
" thynke it so profittable for your self. Who is the
" Merchant said Tindale? The bishoppe of London

" saied Packyngton, O that is because he will burne " them saied Tyndale, ye Mary q. Packyngton, I am " the gladder said Tyndale, for these two benefites " shall come therof, I shall get money of hym for these " bokes, to bryng myself out of debt, (and the whole " worlde shall crie out vpon the burnyng of Goddes " worde). And the ouerplus of the money, that shall " remain to me, shall make me more studious, to " correct the said Newe Testament, and so newly to " Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second " will muche better like you, then euer did the first: " And so forward went the bargain, the bishop " had the bokes, Packyngton had the thankes, and " Tyndale had the money.

" Afterward when mo newe Testamentes were " Imprinted, thei came thicke and threfold into Eng- " lande, the bishop of London hearyng that still there " were so many Newe Testamentes abrode, sent for " Augustyne Packyngton and saied vnto him: Sir " how commeth this, that there are so many Newe " Testamentes abrode, and you promised and assured " me, that you had bought al? then said Packyngtō, " I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: " but I perceiue thei haue made more sence, and it " will neuer bee better, as long as thei haue the letters " and stampes, therefore it wer best for your lorde- " shippe, to bye the stampes to, and then are you " sure: the bishop smiled at hym and saied, well " Packyngton well, and so ended this matter.

" Shortly after it fortuned one George Constātine, " to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, whiche

" then was lorde Chauncellor of England, of suspiciō
" of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng
" with More, after diuerse examinacions of diuerse
" thynges, emong other, Master More saied in this
" wise to Constantine. Constantine I would haue
" thee plain with me, in one thyng that I will aske
" of thee, and I promes thee I will shewe thee fauor,
" in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused
" to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye,
" and a great many mo of you, I knowe thei cannot
" liue without helpe, some sendeth theim money and
" succoureth theim, and thy self beyng one of them,
" haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from
" whence it came. I praie thee who be thei that thus
" helpe them? My lorde q. Constātine, will you that
" I shal tell you the truthe? Yea I praie thee q. my
" Lorde. Mary I will q. Constantyne, truly q. he it
" is the Bishoppe of London that hath holpen vs, for
" he hath bestowed emong vs, a greate deale of money
" in New Testamentes to burne theim, and that hath
" and yet is our onely succoure and comfort. Now
" by my trothe q. More, I thynke euē the same, and
" I said so muche to the bishop, when he went about
" to bye them."

But to return to Coverdale. He went over to Hamburgh, where he had made an appointment to meet Tyndal. The latter was detained beyond the time agreed on, by shipwreck, but at last he arrived, in the beginning of the year 1529. Coverdale then assisted him with the translation of part of the Old Testament, that is to say, with the whole of the five

books of Moses. He staid there with Tyndal, from the Easter till December, in the house of "a worshipful "widow, (as Fox calls her,[k]) Mistress Margaret Van "Emmerson." During this time, there was a great sweating sickness in the town. This translation was printed in the following year, at "Malborow (Marbourg) in the land of Hesse."[l]

Tyndal then returned to Antwerp; and if we are to believe Fox,[m] who says Coverdale was in Denmark during this time he was abroad:—it was most likely that he went there; and we may well suppose from the conduct of King Christian, with respect to him afterwards, that he was favourably received, and already held in some estimation. How long he staid, or where he went afterwards, till 1535, is not known. In that year, he brought out his translation of the whole Bible; and although it has no name of place or publisher printed in it, it is generally supposed, from a resemblance of the type to that used in the printing house of Christopher Froschover at Zurich, to have been printed there.[n] Coverdale was most likely on the spot to superintend the publication of it; and therefore we may reasonably conclude, as the Bible was printed in the October of 1535, that he was at Zurich, at least as early as the commencement of that year. But in order to well understand under

[k] Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 364.

[l] Copies: British Museum.—Sion College.—Bodleian.—Baptist Museum, Bristol.—Pub. Lib. Cambridge.—Lambeth Library.—Duke of Sussex.—Earl of Jersey. From the copy belonging to the Duke of Sussex it is reprinted in Roman characters, 1838.

[m] Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 182. [n] See Note B.

what encouragement, and upon what grounds, he put forth this translation, we must return to what was going on in England.

Books against the pride and luxury of the bishops, and discussing and disputing points of religion, together with the New Testaments, continued to be brought into the realm; where they were not only circulated, but some persons were even bold enough to openly preach and inculcate the doctrines thereby maintained. The Bishops, finding that their own authority did not suffice for their suppression, applied to the king; and they had the address to engage that monarch to their views, by an artful use of those topics, that were most likely to have weight with him. They insinuated that those who wrote these books, were men jealous of all authority; that if they once got rid of that of the bishops, they would not rest long till they had also got rid of that of his majesty; that these attacks upon ecclesiastics and Roman Catholic doctrines were only a prelude to seditious attempts against their sovereign; and that when men had once dared to set the authority of those above them at defiance, there could no longer be any limit set to their encroachments. They instanced the disturbances in Germany, which had taken place through the means of Muncer and other sectaries; and they persuaded his majesty, that the best way to avert similar evils, was at once to put down, by a severe proclamation, all such publications, and all supporters of them.

The king lent a ready ear to these suggestions, for

alone could be judges of whether it was against the true doctrine or not. It is hard to conceive a more unjust and tyrannical power than the one hereby conferred, since the term of imprisonment, and the amount of fine, were left entirely to the bishops' discretion.

But it would seem that notwithstanding, it had not the effect desired, for in the following year, 1530, a fourth Dutch edition of the New Testament of Tyndal's translation was printed, and soon sold off.[q] This edition was full of errors, they having no Englishman to correct it.

Great numbers (says Halle[r]) of the New Testaments, translated by Tyndal, Joy, and others, had in the last four years been brought into the realm; and the common people got hold of them, and read them secretly, in spite of the hinderance of the clergy, who punished all who read, studied, or taught the same with great severity. But inasmuch as they were so numerous, the clergy applied to the Lord Chancellor,[s] (who leaned much to the spiritual men's side) to punish them; and he accordingly imprisoned and punished a great number; by which great disputes, murmurs, and discontents arose.

Nix, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter that he wrote to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 14th of May, 1530,[t] tells him that he is much troubled with

[q] Lewis's Transl. Bible, p. 73.

[r] Chron. fol. clxxxxii. b. ed. 1548.

[s] Sir Thomas More. Fox tells us of several instances of cruelty, that this otherwise excellent man committed with regard to heretics.

[t] Orig. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 360.

those that keep "these Arronious boks in engleshe," and that teach others to give credence to the same. He says he has done all he can to suppress them, but that it passed his power or any spiritual man's to do it. For divers say openly, that the king wills that they shall have these books. He says that he has desired the Abbot of Hide to show these matters to the king, and to pray him to send his letters down under his seal, that it may be seen, that it is not his pleasure, that such books should be read or taught. And some, he adds, are bold enough to assert that by Michaelmas next, they trust there will be more that believe of their opinions, than they that believe the contrary. He adds, that since the Abbot of Hide departed, which was on Monday last, he has had much trouble about these matters; "and they say "that where so mever they go they here say that the "kings pleasure is the new testament in ingleshe "shulde go forth, and mē shuld haue it, and Rede "it. And from that opynion I cañe no wise induce "them, but I had greter auctorite to punyshe them, "thañ I haue."

He tells the Archbishop, however, that as yet this may be well remedied in his diocese; for that the gentry and common people are not greatly infected, but only the merchants, and such as have their abiding not far from the sea. But, he says, if these matters are suffered to run on, "I think they shall "vndoe vs all." He adds that the Abbot can shew him of a curate, a well-learned man in his diocese, who has exhorted his parishioners to believe con-

trary to the Catholic faith: and that he has heard that out of a certain college at Cambridge, called Gunwell Hall, there has never come a clerk lately, but that "sauerith of the friaīge panne though he speke "neuer so holely."

It would seem curious to conceive how the bishop could complain of not having sufficient authority, when we recollect the proclamation, that was issued only the year before, which put so great a power into his hands. But it would seem, on attentively examining the letter itself,* that the bishop had the New Testament chiefly in his eye; and it might very well be questioned, whether, under that proclamation, he had a right to prohibit it. Besides, he says in his letter, that those who had them said that it was the king's pleasure they should have them; and he therefore probably feared to take any steps against men so confident, and who very likely would have openly resisted his authority, all the while, however, professing the utmost submission to the king's will.

* In one part of the letter, the words "the saide boks" are erased, and "the new testament in ingleshe" inserted in their place.

CHAPTER III.

DECISION OF THE KING IN COUNCIL AGAINST THE NEW DOCTRINES. — HIS INTENTION TO HAVE THE SCRIPTURE TRANSLATED, TO GIVE TO HIS PEOPLE, WHEN HE SHOULD SEE THAT THEY WERE FIT TO RECEIVE THE SAME. — LATIMER'S LETTER TO THE KING, PERSUADING HIM TO GRANT THE FREE USE OF THE BIBLE TO HIS SUBJECTS. — PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION. — RESOLUTION OF THE CONVOCATION OF THE CLERGY WITH REGARD TO PROMULGATING THE SCRIPTURE IN ENGLISH. — ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST. — COVERDALE DETERMINES TO TRANSLATE IT.

THESE and the like representations made the king anxious to take some more effectual step towards checking the Lutheran publications, which were now pouring into the kingdom. And as he judged some solemn and decisive measure was necessary, beyond that of merely issuing a prohibitory proclamation, in order that the people might be convinced that these works were not forbidden without a cause; he summoned the principal bishops, and a number of the most learned of the two universities, and putting several of these publications into their hands, he desired them to examine them, and report upon them. And in order to confer a greater air of impartiality on their decision, free liberty, we are told, was given to every

man to speak according to his learning and his conscience, without any reproach or blame to be imputed to him for anything he there might say, whose person soever it touched, and without any necessity to agree with the majority, but only to say what his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify.

Accordingly, on the 24th of May, they gave in their report before the king in full council, sitting in the star chamber. They unanimously agreed, that these books contained many detestable and damnable heresies, being of such sort that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people, if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space; and also that the scripture corrupted by William Tyndal and others, was not only untruly translated, but also contained prologues and prefaces which were heretical, and which railed against the bishops uncharitably. And, in order to support their opinion, they made numerous extracts from these books.

The king, therefore, by their advice and counsel, determined that all such publications should be absolutely prohibited; and that the people might be better acquainted with his mind in this respect, a form of a bill was devised to be read by the preachers in the churches, informing them of the steps taken, and warning them against having or keeping any such books. Those named were, "Th' obedience of a "cristen man; The summe of Scripture;* The reve-

* Very likely the work mentioned post, in the list of works, art. 17, as being by Coverdale.

" lation of Anticriste; The supplication of beggers; " Mammona; The matrymony of Tyndall; The " Newe Testament in Englisshe of the translation " whiche is nowe prynted;" and all other books by the same authors, or to which the authors dare not, or do not put their names.

Archbishop Warham published his letters testimonial at the same time,[1] giving an account of these proceedings, in which there is the following clause:

And "forasmuch that it was reported unto the " kings highnes, that there is engendered an opynyon " in diverse of his subjects, that it is his duetie to " cawse the Scripture of God to be translated into " Englishe tonge to be communicate unto the people; " and that the prelates and also his highnes doo " wronge in denying or letting of the same; his high- " nes therefor willed every man there present in the " said assemble, freely and frankly to shewe and " open unto him what might be proved and confirmed " by Scripture and holy doctours in that behalf, to " th' entent that his highnes, as he there openly pro- " testid, myght conforme himself thereunto, mynding " to doo his dutie towards his people, as he wolde " they shulde doo their duties towards him. In " whiche matier after Scriptures declared, holy doc- " tours and auctors alleged, and red, and all thinges " sayde might be on both sidys, and for bothe par- " ties spoken, deduced, and brought furthe; fynally " it appered, that the having of the hole Scripture

[1] Ex reg. Warham, fol. 188, (a) printed in Wilk. conc. M. B. See note C.

" in Englisshe is not necessarye to cristen men, but " that without having any suche Scripture endevoring " themself to doo well, and to applye their myndes " to take and followe such leassons as the precher " techith theym, and soo lerned by his mowthe, may " aswell edifye spiritually in their soules, as if they " had the same Scripture in Englishe; and like as " the having of Scripture in the vulgar tongis, and " in the common peoples handes, hath ben by holy " fathers of the churche heretofore in some tymes " thought mete and convenient; soo at another tyme " it hath ben thought to holy fathers not expedient " to be communicate amongs them.

" Wherein forasmuche as the kings highnes, by th' " advise and deliberation of his counceill, and the " agrement of great learned men, thinkith in his " conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at " this tyme in Englisshe tonge, to be committed to " the people, considering such pestilente books, and " so evill opynyons as be nowe spred amonge them, " shulde rather be to their further confusion and de- " struction then the edification of their soules; and " that as holy doctours testifie upon suche like con- " siderations, the semblable hath been doon in tymes " past, it was thought ther in that assemble to all " and singuler in that congregation, that the kings " highnes and the prelats in soo dooing, not suffering " the Scripture to be divulgid and communicate in " the Englishe tonge unto the people at this tyme, " doth well, and I also think and judge the same, " exhorting and moving you, that in consideration

" his highnes did there openlye saye and protest, that " he wolde cause the Newe Testament to be by " lerned men faithfully and purely translated into " Englishe tonge, to th' entent he might have it in " his handes redy to be gevyn to his people, as he " might se their manners and behavour mete, apte, " and convenient to receyve the same, that ye will " soo detest thes perniciouse boks, so abhore thes " heresies, and newe opynions, soo declyne from arro- " gancy of knowlege and understanding of Scripture " after your fantasies, and shewe your selfe in the " meane tyme without grudging or murmeryng, per- " swading unto your selfe the very truth, which is " this, that ye cannot require or demande Scripture " to be divulged in th' Englishe tonge, otherwise " then upon the discretions of the superiours, soo as " whensoever they think in their conscience it may " doo yowe good, they may and doo well to geve it " unto you, and whensoever it shall be seen other- " wise unto them, they do amisse in suffering you to " have it."

This is the first time that the grand question of whether or not the Scripture ought to be put into the hands of the common people, was publicly mentioned; but as we shall have occasion farther on to treat more fully on this subject, we will pass it by for the present. We have, however, given the clause at length, as it is curious on this account.

It will be seen by this clause, that it is distinctly affirmed that the king intended to have the New Testament translated into English, in order to have it

ready in his hand to give to his people, when he should see fit; and Halle also tells us to the same effect;[c] that he commanded the bishops, that with the assistance of the learned men of the five universities, they should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people should not be ignorant in the law of God. But Halle adds, that notwithstanding the bishops did nothing herein.

It would appear, however, that either Halle was mistaken with regard to the king's having actually commanded the bishops to set about a translation, or, which is not unlikely, that Henry afterwards changed his mind; for in a proclamation, that, besides the bill to be read by the preachers and the letters of Warham, he caused to be set forth about this time,[d] he says, after stating that it was clearly determined he was not obliged to give the people the Scripture in English:

"All be it yf it shall hereafter appeare to the "Kings highnes that his said people do vtterly aban- "don and forsake all peruerse, erronious, and se- "ditious opinions, w^th^ the newe Testament and the "old, corruptly translated into the English tonge; "nowe being in printe: And that the same bokes and "all other bokes of heresie aswell in the french tonge "as in the Duch tonge, be clerely exterminate and "exiled out of this Realme of England for euer: his "highnes entendeth to provide, that the holy Scrip-

[c] Chron. fol. clxxxxii. b. ed. 1548.

[d] In June. Cott. M.S. Cleop. E. v. no. 56. See also the title of it in the list of Barthelet's works, in Dibd. Typ. Ant. vol. 3.

" ture shalbe by great lerned and catholique p̄sons, " translated into the English tonge yf it shall then " seeme to his grace convenient so to be."

This was a vague promise, with but a slight prospect of fulfilment. By this proclamation, besides the books before mentioned, he prohibited under the most severe penalties, any one from having any portion of the Scripture in English in print, or copied out of the books in print, or even any portion of the Scripture in French or Dutch; and he commanded that no one should print any book in English concerning holy Scripture, not before printed, unless such book should be allowed by the ordinary of the diocese where it was printed; and that the printer should set thereunto his own name, and also the name of the examiner who allowed the book, as he would otherwise answer to his majesty at his uttermost peril.

This clear manifestation of the king's mind, with regard to not allowing the Scripture to be published at present, was, it may be imagined, very discouraging to the Reformers; although they did not hesitate to regard it, not so much as the result of the king's own private inclinations on the subject, as of the interested and crafty persuasions of the bishops. Several persons in London were taken up and punished, for keeping books prohibited by this proclamation; and Latimer wrote the king a long letter, on the first of December, the chief purport of which was, to persuade him to grant to his subjects the free use of the Bible. He excuses those who were punished for disobeying his Majesty's proclamation, (who, it might

be said, "like as they regarded not this, would not "regard other his grace's laws, statutes, and ordi- "nances,") by hinting, that they took the proclamation not so much to proceed from his majesty, as from the bishops.

"For what marvel is it that they, (meaning the "bishops,) being so nigh of your council, and so "familiar with your lords, should provoke both your "grace and them to prohibit these books, which be- "fore, by their own authority, have forbidden the "New Testament, under pain of everlasting damna- "tion; for such is their manner, to send a thousand "men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the "New Testament (and so I think by the other) was "meekly offered to every man, that could and would, "to amend it, if there were any fault."

He attacks, pretty severely, the bishops for their pride and luxury; and inveighs against pope's pardons, dispensations, and indulgences. Those who are curious to see this letter, may find it at full in Fox's Acts and Monuments.[e]

In the mean time, the Reformation, although in an indirect way, had been advancing in England.

Henry had applied to the pope for a divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon, who had been married to his brother Arthur. It is not our purpose, and it would indeed be foreign to the nature of this work, to examine into the circumstances which led to this application, or to detail the threats, and intimi-

[e] Vol. iii. p. 479, et seq. See note D.

dation, and bribes, which the emperor Charles used with the pope to make him deny it; sufficient is it to remark that Henry, irritated at the denial of a request which he had much at heart, and guided by the advice of Cranmer, after patiently submitting to the deceitful delays of the court of Rome, determined at last to take the opinion of the most celebrated universities in Europe, on the question of whether the pope could grant a dispensation for a marriage with a brother's widow, or not. Having obtained a favourable answer from most of them, he caused Cranmer, recently promoted to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, to pronounce a solemn divorce between him and Catharine. Such a step as this, committed in open defiance of the pope's authority, accompanied as it was by other circumstances of a similar tendency, necessarily brought on an open rupture between England and the court of Rome. For, from questioning the pope's authority in this particular instance, men began to debate about what right he had to any jurisdiction at all in England; and bills to forbid the payment of first fruits, and to prevent appeals to the court of Rome, were successively passed in parliament. Men had very generally, for some time past, been complaining of the usurpations of the ecclesiastics, and finding the opportunity convenient at present, they took advantage of it to pass bills for the regulating of mortuaries, against the exactions for the probates of wills, against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of lands. And at the same time, they threw out very

severe invectives in the house, without almost any opposition being made to them, against the ambition, avarice, and endless encroachments of the priests.

The clergy also, at the convocation which was held in 1531, were prevailed on to acknowledge that "the king was the protector and supreme head of "the church and clergy of England;" although they contrived to clog this admission by the following clause added to it: "in so far as is permitted by the "laws of Christ." This was not gained without much difficulty, and only while they were under the fear of a penal statute, which the king held over their heads, the statute of provisors; the pains of which, it was alleged, they had incurred, in submitting to the legatine court established by Wolsey.

Proceeding gradually, the parliament, in a subsequent session, abolished all bulls and dispensations. Bishops were to be appointed by the king alone, without any necessity for palls, bulls, or provisions. The law of heresy was moderated: speaking against the pope's authority, was no longer to be deemed such. Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone. Convocations were to be summoned by him alone; no new canons were to be made without his approbation; and commissioners were to be appointed to abrogate such, already existing, as might be against his royal prerogative.

A bishop inculcated the doctrine, every Sunday, at Paul's Cross, that the pope had no authority beyond the bounds of his own diocese, and the convocation that met at this time voted to the same effect. This

vote passed almost unanimously, and the bishops took out new commissions, in which all their authority, spiritual and temporal, was expressed to be derived from the king, and to be held only during his pleasure. The act of parliament, constituting the king the supreme head of the church of England,[f] was passed soon after. And thus, in an incredibly short space of time, the whole authority of the church was transferred from the pope to the king, and this in so orderly a manner, that not the slightest disturbance ensued from it.

This was all very gratifying to those of the reformed tenets, who trusted that these measures were but preludes to a change in the religion, which they ardently desired.

In the mean time, "on the 17th of March, 1533, "the convocation of the province of Canterbury met. "Among other things done by it, it was decreed that "the holy Scripture should be translated into the "vulgar tongue, and the laity prohibited contending "about articles of the faith and the holy Scripture; "but I do not find (says Lewis) that the former part "of this decree was executed at this time."[g]

In the same year, Tyndal, in a letter that he wrote to his learned friend, John Frith, tells him that "George Joye, at Candlemas, being at Barrow (a "town ten miles from Antwerp), printed two leaves of "Genesis, in great form,[h] and sent one copy to the

[f] 26 Hen. 8. c. 1.

[g] It seems doubtful whether there was such a decree as this, or whether it is not an error of Mr. Lewis's. See note E.

[h] i. e. "large type."

" king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to " N. to deliver them, and to purchase license that he " might so go through all the Bible. Out of this " (says Tyndal), is sprung the noise of the new " Bible; and out of this is the great seeking for " English books at all printers and bookbinders in " Antwerp, and for an English priest that should " print." This chanced, he adds, the 9th of May.[i]

" This was written (says Lewis) about the begin- " ning of 1533, and by the new queen is, I suppose, " meant Anne Boleyn, and this perhaps may be that " fragment which Mr. Wanley said he had,[k] and which " seemed to him to be part of an entire Bible, and to " be older than Coverdale's Bible, printed in 1535."

A bill was passed in the commons, in February, 1534, to make laws with respect to the importing into the kingdom of books printed abroad. It was sent up to the lords, amended, and passed by them, and sent back to the commons; but what became of it afterwards we have not been able to ascertain, although it is certain that it was not passed into a law.[l] Even the exact nature of it, we cannot find out.

The convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury having now met again, Cranmer, who the year before was promoted to the see of Canterbury, moved that there might be a translation made of the whole Bible into English. Accordingly, on the 19th of December, 1534, the following resolutions were agreed to unanimously by both houses:—

Namely, that archbishop Cranmer should make

[i] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 369.
[k] Biblic. Litera. no. 4. p. 40. [l] Lords' Journals.

instance with the king, that he should order and decree that all his subjects, in whose possession were any books of suspected doctrine, particularly in the vulgar tongue, printed abroad, should be admonished, and required to bring them in within three months to certain persons by the king for that purpose appointed, under certain pains and penalties to be by him also appointed.

And that further, his majesty would vouchsafe to decree, that the sacred Scripture should be translated into the English tongue by certain honest and learned men named for that purpose by his majesty, and should be delivered to the people according to their learning.

And furthermore, that the king would vouchsafe to prohibit, on certain pains, that any of his majesty's lay subjects should presume in future to publicly dispute, or in any manner brawlingly contend, concerning the Catholic faith or the articles of faith, or the sacred Scripture, or its meaning.[m]

The progress of reformed opinions had now become so great, that the clergy felt obliged to make some concessions to it for their own safety. Awed, perhaps, by the power and royal favour which Cranmer enjoyed, they, at his instance, consented to petition the king, that the Scriptures should be translated into the English tongue, and the free use of it allowed to the people. But they clogged this concession by the three important petitions, which have just been

[m] Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 339. b.

mentioned: first, that all books of suspected doctrine should be called in, and their publication prohibited; secondly, that the Scriptures should be translated by certain persons to be named by the king; and thirdly, that the laity should be prohibited disputing about the Catholic faith, or the meaning of Scripture.

By the first measure, they would for the present effectually put a stop to all means of furthering or publishing reformed opinions.

By the second, as it was almost certain that those chosen for the task would be taken from the clergy, they could reasonably hope that a majority at the least of the translators would be of their way of thinking, and that therefore they might make a translation which would support their religious tenets and observances; but that if they should fail in this, they might at least easily delay and impede the progress of the work, till those engaged in the task had become disgusted and careless, or until the people were tired with expectation.

And by the third, even when the translation was at last finished and given to the people, whatever inconsistencies might be perceived between its holy precepts and their practice, were to be passed by unnoticed; for the laity were to be prohibited, under certain penalties, from disputing about the Catholic faith, or even the meaning of any part of Scripture: therefore, if the church chose to understand a particular passage in a constrained sense, favourable to their own practice, those who dared to intimate their

difference of opinion on that subject, were to be silenced by penalties and punishments.

Whilst they thus cunningly contrived to render any concession that might be wrung from them, perfectly nugatory, they had at the same time all the appearance of being fully willing to allow to the people the free use of the Scripture, with this only proviso, that the translation should be a correct one. Cranmer no doubt perceived the effect of these petitions, and therefore forbore to present them, and so the matter dropped.

But although they gained for the time their point thus far, in making the resolutions agreed on of no avail, they had by their acquiescence established a principle, which was not long in producing good effects; for they had thus openly allowed, that, even in the opinion of the clergy, the Scripture, when properly translated, was a fit book to be put into the hands of the people.

The maintainers of the Roman Catholic religion had always, on the contrary, asserted that the Bible was not a fit book to be put into the hands of the common people, who, it was said, by their ignorance, stupidity, and the little leisure they had from their several avocations, were necessarily incapacitated from judging for themselves in abstruse and difficult points of doctrine; that even in temporal concerns, which they might much more easily comprehend, the laws, happily for themselves and others, had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgment, by laying down rules for their conduct and

behaviour; and that in theological questions they ought much the less to be suffered to meddle, seeing that even learned divines themselves were sometimes at fault: that the sacred writ was in some parts confessedly obscure, giving rise to many difficulties, and involving many apparent contradictions; and that to put it thus into the hands of those who had not the ability, and if they had the ability, had not the time to weigh well and examine the true meaning, was indeed only putting doubts in their mind, implanting scepticism, and sowing heresy: "that the poetical "style in which a great part of it was composed, at "the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the "sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was "sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and "thereby throw civil society into the most furious "combustion; and that a thousand sects must arise, "which would pretend each of them to derive its "tenets from the Scripture, and would be able, by "specious arguments, or even without specious argu-"ments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics "into a belief of the most monstrous principles."*

By however sanctioning this principle, they had tacitly acquiesced in the reasoning of those who supported the new religion, who contended that the word of God ought to be open to all; that the Scripture had been given to every man for his instruction; that the only requisite for understanding it, was to read it with a pious and humble spirit; and that those

* Hume, ch. xxxi.

who, under various pretences, wished to keep it from the multitude, were only actuated by the desire of hiding their own evil practices, which they knew an examination into Scripture would expose.

Concerning this resolution of the convocation, Strype says, without however mentioning the date, that Cranmer was determined that a translation of the Bible should be published, and that the way he managed was this:—He took an old translation of the New Testament (Tyndal's) to begin with. This he divided into nine or ten parts, which he sent to the best learned of the bishops and others, desiring them to make a perfect correction of them, and when they had done so, to restore them to him at Lambeth by a certain time. One of these parts (the Acts of the Apostles) was, it seems, sent to Stokesly, bishop of London. When the day fixed was come, they all sent their portions to the archbishop, except Stokesly, and the archbishop sending to know why he had not sent in his part like the rest, Stokesly returned the following answer:—"I marvel what my lord of "Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, "in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which "doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I "have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor "never will; and therefore my lord shall have this "book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing "the common people into error."[o] Mr. Lewis adds, "and here this good design stopped, as far as I can "learn, for the present."[p]

[o] Stry. Cranm. p. 34. [p] Transl. of Bible, p. 91.

It would appear that even some of the bishops, who were opposed to the principle of the Bible being translated, were awed or influenced by interest into a compliance with Cranmer's projects, as in a letter from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, to Cromwell, of which the date is uncertain,[q] he says, "Neverthe- "less I have as gret cause as any man, to desire rest "and quiet, for the helth of my body: wherunto I "thought to have entended, and to absteyne from "bookes and wryting, having finished the transla- "tion of Saynt Luke and Saynt John, wherin I have "spent a gret labour."[r]

Emboldened by the general opinion, which now seemed to be without any doubt, in favour of a translation of Scripture being made, provided it were only correct; and encouraged by a promise that was made to him, that the cost of it would be borne by others, Coverdale was led to give his time to preparing a translation of the whole Bible for the press. He was also no doubt further induced by seeing, on the report having been spread that there was one printing at Antwerp, how many applications had been made for it. He perceived that the people were anxious to search out the truth for themselves; and diffident as he might be of his own powers for the task, he yet undertook it, hoping that it might lead those who were more able, to give their attention to it. He would, however, most probably not have undertaken it at all, had not Tyndal about this time

[q] MS. Chapt. Ho. Westm. Bundle C. [r] See note F.

fallen into trouble, as he intimates that Tyndal himself had the intention of finishing his translation of the remaining books of the Old Testament, which would then have comprised the whole Bible. He gives no clue as to those who had offered to bear the cost of this work; but it is not unlikely, that Cromwell, as on other occasions, so also on this, was one of his chief supporters, if indeed he were not the sole one.

CHAPTER IV.

COVERDALE PUBLISHES HIS TRANSLATION OF THE WHOLE BIBLE. — DEDICATION TO THE KING. — USES TOPICS MOST LIKELY TO HAVE WEIGHT WITH HENRY. — FINDS FAULT WITH THE AMBITION OF THE POPE. — EXTOLS THE SCRIPTURE. — GIVES HIS REASON FOR DEDICATING THIS TRANSLATION TO THE KING. — IN JUDGING OF THE LANGUAGE AND TOPICS OF THIS DEDICATION, DIFFERENCE TO BE BORNE IN MIND, BETWEEN THE KINGLY OFFICE IN THOSE DAYS AND THE PRESENT. — PROLOGUE TO THE READER. — COVERDALE EXCUSES HIS OWN INSUFFICIENCY. — EXPLAINS THE DIFFERENT BOOKS IN THE BIBLE. — EXHORTS THE READER TO APPROACH THE SCRIPTURE IN A PROPER MIND. — DATE OF THIS BIBLE, APPARENT INCONSISTENCY OF THAT GIVEN AT THE END, WITH THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DEDICATION.

In 1535, accordingly, Coverdale published his translation of the Bible in a small folio.[a] This was the first edition of the whole Bible in English ever printed.[b] It has no name of place or printer, but the opinion now generally received is, as has been before mentioned, that it was printed at Zurich, in the house of Christopher Froschover; and this opinion is founded on the resemblance of the types, which are

[a] Copies: Brit. Mus.—Bodleian.—Public Libr. Cambr.—Sion Coll.—All Souls Coll.—Lambeth Libr.—Bapt. Mus. Bristol.—Duke of Sussex.—Earl of Jersey.

[b] This volume has been reprinted, verbatim, in Roman type, by the publisher of this work, 1838.

of a peculiar form, to those generally found in the works of that printer.[c]

This Bible has a dedication to the king, and a prologue or preface to the reader. The dedication is thus headed: "Vnto the most victorious Prynce and "oure most gracyous soueraigne Lorde, kynge Henry "the eyght, kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, lorde "of Irlonde, &c. Defendour of the Fayth, and vnder "God the chefe and suppreme heade of the Church "of Englonde. The ryght & iust administracyon of "the lawes that God gaue vnto Moses and vnto "Josua: the testimonye of faythfulnes that God gaue "of Dauid: the plenteous abundaunce of wysdome "that God gaue vnto Salomon: the lucky and pros-"perous age with the multiplicacyon of sede whiche "God gaue vnto Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be "geuē vnto you most gracyous Prynce, with your "dearest iust wyfe, and most vertuous Pryncesse, "Quene Anne,[d] Amen."

He begins it, by comparing the Pope to a Jewish bishop, called Caiphas. Caiphas, he says, taking Christ for an impostor, had said it was better to put him to death, than that the people should perish, not knowing that he said true therein, for that the death of Christ was necessary for the salvation of mankind. In like manner, the pope had called his majesty the Defender of the Faith, not thinking that he would in very deed defend "the Fayth, yee euen

[c] See Note B.

[d] Some copies have "Queen Jane." Concerning this difference, see post, page 68.

" the true fayth of Christ, no dreames, no fables, no " heresie, no papisticall inuencions, but the vncor- " rupte fayth of Gods most holy worde, which to set " forth (praysed be the goodnes of God, and increace " youre gracyous purpose) your hyghnes with youre " most honorable councell, applyeth all his studye " and endeuoure."

The pope, says he, keepeth the word of faith secret, " lest his owne Decretales & Decrees, his owne lawes " and constitucions, his owne statutes and inuencions " shulde come to none effecte: lest his intollerable " exactions and vsurpacions shulde lose theyr " strengthe: lest it shulde be knowen what a thefe " and murtherer he is in the cause of Christ, and " how haynous a traytoure to God and man in de- " fraudynge all Christen kynges and prynces of theyr " due obedience: lest we youre graces subiectes " shulde haue eyes in the worde of God, at the last " to spye out his crafty conueyaūce and iuglynges: " and lest men shulde se, how sore he and his false " Apostles haue deceaued all Christendome, specyally " youre noble realme of Englonde."

He says, that the pope is afraid that kings and princes should become well acquainted with the Scripture, lest they should again assume that authority, which he has for so many years usurped from them. " For the scripture (both in the olde testa- " ment and in the new) declareth most aboūtdauntly " that the office, auctorite, and power geuen of God " vnto kynges, is in earth aboue all other powers: let " them call thē selues Popes, Cardynalles, or what so

" euer they will, the worde of god declareth them (yee " and commaundeth them vnder payne of dampna- " cion) to be obedient vnto the temporall swerde: As " in the olde Testament all the Prophetes, Prestes and " Leuites were. And in the new Testament Christ " & his Apostles both were obedient them selues, and " taught obedience of all men vnto theyr prynces ād " temporall rulers: which here vnto vs in the worlde " present the persone of God, and are called Goddes " in the scripture, bycause of the excellēcy of theyr " office. And though there were no mo auctorities " but the same, to proue the pēminence of the tem- " porail swerde, yet by this the scripture declareth " playnly, that as there is nothyng aboue God, so is " there no man aboue the kynge in his realme but " that he onely vnder God is the chefe heade of all " the cōgregacyon and church of the same. And in " token that this is true, there hath ben of olde anti- " quite (and is yet vnto this daye) a louynge cere- " monye vsed in your realme of Englonde, y^{t} whā " your graces subiectes reade your letters, or begynne " to talke or cōmē[e] of your hyghnes, they moue theyr " bonettes for a signe & token of reuerence vnto your " grace, as to their most soueraigne lorde and heade " vnder God. which thyng no man vseth to do to " eny bysshoppe."

He then instances Aaron, Eleazar, and others, who were obedient to their princes, but who yet spared not to rebuke them when they forsook the path of

[e] i. e. " commune."

the Lord; "as Johan Baptyste durst saye vnto Kynge "Herode: It is not lawful for the to take thy bro- "thers wyfe."[f]

He then dilates still further on the obedience due to kings, and concludes; "Innumerable places mo "are there in scripture, which bynde vs to the obe- "dience of oure prynce, and declare vnto vs, that no "man is nor can be lawfully excepte from the same: "but that all the mynisters of Goddes worde are "vnder the tēporal swerde: ℭ Prynces onely to owe "obedience vnto God ℭ his worde."

He then observes, the many injuries the pope has done unto all princes, and particularly unto this realm; how until now he did thrust his head into the imperial crown of his highness (as he doth yet with other noble princes); how shamefully he had treated his grace's noble ancestor, king John; how he had stolen his grace's money for pardons, benefices, and bishopricks, not to mention his picking Peter's pence out of the kingdom; how he had deceived the souls of his grace's subjects "with his deuelyshe "doctrynes and sectes of his false religions;" how he had caused the bloodshed of his grace's subjects for books of the Scripture; and how he had made the bishops of the realm obstinate and disobedient to his grace.

He says, the cause of all this has been, even the ignorance of the word of God, which, until his grace's time, had been shut up, cast aside, and clean put out

[f] There was no doubt a secret allusion in this to Coverdale's approval of the divorce between the king and Catharine of Arragon.

of remembrance. He compares the king unto Josias, who "cōmaunded straytly (as youre grace doth) that "the lawe of God shulde be redde and taught vnto "all y^e people."

He praiseth the Scripture, which, he says, "is the "cause of all felicite, it bryngeth all goodnes with it, "it bryngeth lernynge, it gēdreth vnderstondynge, it "causeth good workes, it maketh chyldren of obedi- "ence, breuely, it teacheth all estates theyr office and "duety. Seynge then that the scripture of God "teacheth vs euery thynge sufficiently, both what we "oughte to do, and what we oughte to leaue vndone: "whome we are bounde to obey, and whome we "shulde not obeye: therfore (I saye) it causeth all "prosperite, and setteth euery thyng in frame: and "where it is taught and knowen, it lyghteneth all "darkenesses, cōforteth all sory hertes, leaueth no "poore man vnhelped, suffreth nothynge amysse "vnamended, letteth no prynce be disobeyed, per- "mytteth no heresie to be preached: but refourmeth "all thinges, amēdeth that is amysse, and setteth "euery thynge in order."

Considering therefore, the inestimable treasure that God's word is, and trusting that God would bring his "symple and rude laboure herin to good effecte," see- ing that others had been moved by the Holy Ghost to undertake the cost of it, he was emboldened to labour in the same. He continues: "Agayne, con- "syderynge youre Imperiall maiestye not onely to be "my naturall soueraigne liege Lorde & chefe heade of "y^e church of Englōde, but also the true defender

" and maynteyner of Gods lawes, I thought it my " dutye and to belonge vnto my allegiaunce, whan I " had translated this Bible, not onely to dedicate this " translacyon vnto youre hyghnesse, but wholy to " commytte it vnto the same: to the intent that yf " any thynge therin be translated amysse (for in " many thynges we fayle, euen whan we thynke to " be sure) it may stōde in youre graces handes, to " correcte it, to amende it, to improue it, yee & cleane " to reiecte it, yf youre godly wysdome shall thynke " it necessary. And as I do with all humblenes sub- " mitte myne vnderstondynge and my poore transla- " cyon vnto y^e^ spirite of trueth in your grace, so make " I this protestacyon (hauyng God to recorde in my " cōscience) that I haue nether wrested nor altered " so moch as one worde for the mayntenaūce of any " maner of secte: but haue with a cleare conscience " purely & faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry " interpreters, hauyng onely the manyfest trueth of " the scripture before myne eyes."

He then compares the king to Moses, for having brought us " out of this olde Egypte from the cruell " handes of our spirituall Pharao;" and unto David, unto whom the Jews were not more bounden, " for " subduynge of greate Goliath and all theyr enemyes, " as we are to your grace, for delyuerynge vs out of " oure olde Babylonycall captiuyte."

He concludes: "For y^e^ which delyueraunce and " victory I beseke oure onely medyatoure Jesus " Christ, to make soch meanes for vs vnto his hea- " uenly father, y^t^ we neuer be vnthankfull vnto him

" ner vnto youre grace: but that we euer increace in " the feare of him, in obedience vnto your hyghnesse, " in loue vnfayned vnto our neghbours: and in all " vertue that commeth of God. To whom for y^e^ de- " fendynge of his blessed worde (by your graces most " rightfull administracyon) be honoure and thankes, " glory and dominyon, worlde without ende, Amen."

The language and topics in this dedication, were no doubt dictated by the wish that Coverdale had, to convince King Henry, that those who favoured the new religion were not contemners of regal authority; that so far from being promoters of disturbances and seditions, which was insinuated to the king, they were supporters of his power against the pope and the clergy; and that whilst they advocated the freedom of God's word, they inculcated, as a primary duty, obedience to the king.

But some have found much fault with this dedication. They say, that it is couched in a tone of submissive flattery, highly unbecoming a Christian reformer; that it is nothing but a cloying sweet offered to the king, to engage him to allow the publication of the Bible in his dominions; and that although so good an end was to be obtained, the means employed tell not to Coverdale's credit. It is not our purpose to enter into any discussion, as to the above observations, as every reader must be the best judge for himself of their correctness; but it certainly must be confessed that those topics, and those alone, which were the most likely to gratify Henry's pride, and influence his prejudices, were made use of.

In judging, however, in this matter, it must be observed, that the difference between the kingly office in those days and in ours, is very great. The veneration, the reverential respect, the blind and unlimited obedience, which were then paid to the king; the uncertain extent of his prerogative; all concurred in making the king of England, in those days, a very different person from the king in our own. "No "prince in Europe," says Hume,[5] "not even the pope "himself in his own dominions, where he united both "the civil and ecclesiastical powers, was possessed of "such absolute authority as Henry." The particular disposition, too, of Henry, is also to be considered with regard to this matter. He was frank, open, and generous; but of an ungovernable temper. The slightest opposition offered to him, irritated him excessively; and, as Wolsey told Sir William Kingston,[h] "rather than miss or want any part of his will, he "would endanger the one-half his kingdom." The consequence was, that both parties, those who favoured the reformed, and those who favoured the Roman Catholic doctrines, vied with each other in paying him the most deferential submission. They hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to gain him over to their views; and they each feared that by the slightest opposition to his will, they might irritate against them a monarch, with whom interest and policy had little weight, in comparison with the gratification of his passions.

[5] Hist. ch. xxxi.

[h] Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 113, ed. 1641.

Coverdale's dedication must therefore be considered with a due regard to these circumstances, under which it was written; and we must also bear in mind, that the language in those days used towards superiors, or the king, was in a very different style to what we are now accustomed.

In his prologue, addressed to the Christian reader, he begins thus: "Considerynge how excellent know-
" lege and lernynge an interpreter of scripture oughte
" to haue in the tongues, and ponderyng also myne
" owne insufficiency therin, & how weake I am to
" perfourme y^e^ office of a translatoure, I was the
" more lothe to medle with this worke. Notwith-
" stondynge whan I cōsydered how greate pytie it
" was that we shulde wante it so longe, & called to
" my remembraunce y^t^ aduersite of them, which were
" not onely of rype knowlege, but wolde also with all
" theyr hertes haue perfourmed y^t^ they beganne, yf
" they had not had impediment: considerynge (I
" saye) that by reason of theyr aduersyte it coulde
" not so soone haue bene broughte to an ende, as
" oure most prosperous nacyon wolde fayne haue had
" it: these and other reasonable causes consydered, I
" was the more bolde to take it in hande. And to
" helpe me herin, I haue had sondrye translacions,
" not onely in latyn, but also of the Douche inter-
" preters: whom (because of theyr syngular gyftes
" & speciall diligence in the Bible) I haue ben
" the more glad to folowe for the most parte, ac-
" cordynge as I was requyred. But to saye the
" trueth before God, it was nether my laboure ner

" desyre, to haue this worke put in my hande: neuer-
" theles it greued me y^t^ other nacyōs shulde be more
" plenteously prouyded for with y^e^ scripture in theyr
" mother tongue, then we: therfore whan I was in-
" stantly requyred, though I coulde not do so well as
" I wolde, I thought it yet my dewtye to do my best,
" and that with a good wyll."

He says that some men think, that many translations cause a diversity of faith, and a division amongst the people of God; but he asks, whether in olden time they were not approved of, and instances Vulgarius,[i] Chrysostom, Tertullian, St. Jerome, and others, who had each a separate translation; if they therefore did good in other languages, why should they do evil in ours? He thinks that "we haue
" greate occasyon to geue thankes vnto God, that
" he hath opened vnto his church the gyfte of in-
" terpretacyon & of pryntyng, and that there are now
" at this tyme so many, which with soch diligēce and
" faithfulnes interprete y^e^ scripture to the honoure of
" god and edifyenge of his people, where as (lyke as
" whan many are shutynge together) euery one doth
" his best to be nyest the marke. And though they
" can not all attayne therto, yet shuteth one nyer
" then another, and hytteth it better then another,
" yee one can do it better thē another. who is now
" then so vnreasonable, so despytefull, so enuyous, as
" to abhorre him y^t^ doth all his diligence to hytte
" y^e^ prycke, and to shute nyest it, though he mysse

[i] It is not known of whom Coverdale here intended to speak, as there is no such name among the Fathers.

" & come not nyest the mark? Ought not soch one
" rather to be commēded, and to be helped forwarde,
" that he maye exercyse him selfe the more therin?

"For the which cause (acordyng as I was desyred) I
" toke the more vpon me to set forth this speciall
" translacyon, not as a checker, not as a reprouer,
" or despyser of other mens translacyons (for amonge
" many as yet I haue founde none without occasyon
" of greate thankesgeuynge vnto god) but lowly &
" faythfully haue I folowed myne interpreters, & that
" vnder correccyon. And though I haue fayled eny
" where (as there is noman but he mysseth in some
" thynge) loue shall constyrre all to y^e^ best without
" eny peruerse iudgment. There is noman lyuynge
" y^t^ can se all thynges, nether hath god geuen eny
" man to knowe euery thynge. One seyth more
" clearly then another, one hath more vnderstondyng
" then another, one can vtter a thynge better then
" another, but noman ought to enuye, or dispyse
" another. He that can do better then another,
" shulde not set him at naught y^t^ vnderstondeth lesse:
" Yee he that hath y^e^ more vnderstondyng, ought to
" remembre that the same gyfte is not his but Gods,
" and y^t^ God hath geuē it him to teach & enfourme
" the ignoraunt. Yf thou hast knowlege therfore
" to iudge where eny faute is made, I doute not but
" thou wilt helpe to amende it, yf loue be ioyned
" with thy knowlege. Howbeit wherin so euer I
" can perceaue by my selfe, or by the informacyon
" of other, that I haue fayled (as it is no wonder) I
" shall now by the helpe of God ouerloke it better &
" amende it."

The next sentence is a beautiful and appropriate piece of advice, to those who read the Scriptures. "Now wil I exhorte the (who so euer thou be y^{t} " readest scripture) yf thou fynde oughte therin " y^{t} thou vnderstondest not, or that apeareth to be " repugnaunt, geue no temerarious ner haystye iudg- " mēt therof: but ascrybe it to thyne awne ignor- " aunce, not to the scrypture, thynke y^{t} thou vnder- " stondest it not, or y^{t} it hath some other meanynge, " or y^{t} it is happyle ouersene of y^{e} interpreters, or " wronge prynted. Agayne, it shall greately helpe " y^{e} to vnderstonde scripture, yf thou marke not onely " what is spoken or wrytten, but of whom, ȣ vnto " whom, with what wordes, at what tyme where, to " what intent, with what circumstaunce, consyderynge " what goeth before, and what foloweth after. For " there be some thynges which are done ȣ wryttē, " to the intente y^{t} we shulde do lykewyse: as whan " Abraham beleueth God, is obedient vnto his worde, " ȣ defendeth Loth his kynsman from violent wronge. " There be some thynges also which are wryttē, to " the intente y^{t} we shulde eschue soch lyke. As " whan Dauid lyeth with Urias wyfe, ȣ causeth him " to be slayne. Therfore (I saye) whan thou readest " scripture, be wyse ȣ circumspecte: ȣ whan thou " commest to soch straunge maners of speakynge ȣ " darke sentences, to soch parables ȣ similitudes, to " soch dreames or vysions as are hyd from thy vnder- " stondynge, cōmytte them vnto God or to the gyfte " of his holy sprete in them y^{t} are better lerned then " thou."

As to commending the Scripture, he says that it

is far above his praise, and therefore, he thinks it better to be silent. He exhorts the reader, to live after the law of God a godly life, which is "the "greatest prayse y^{t} thou canst geue vnto his doc- "tryne."

As to the corrupt and evil conversation of some, that outwardly profess to follow God, he tells the reader, that he must not let that withdraw his mind from the love of the truth. "Call to thy remem- "braunce how louynge & mercifull God is vnto "the, how kyndly and fatherly he helpeth the in all "trouble, teacheth thyne ignoraunce, healeth the in "all thy sycknesse, forgeueth the all thy synnes, fedeth "y^{e}, geueth the drynke, helpeth y^{e} out of preson, nor- "ysheth the in straunge countrees, careth for the, & "seyeth y^{t} thou wante nothynge. Call this to mynde "(I saye) & that earnestly, and consydre how thou "hast receaued of god all these benefites (yee and "many mo then thou canst desyre) how thou art "bounde lykewise to shewe thy selfe vnto thy negh- "boure as farre as thou canst, to teach him yf he "be ignoraunt, to helpe him in all his trouble, to "heale his sycknes, to forgeue him his offences, and "that hartely, to fede him, to cherish him, to care "for him, and to se y^{t} he wante nothyng: And on "this behalfe I beseke the (thou y^{t} hast y^{e} ryches "of this worlde, and louest God with thy harte) to "lyfte vp thyne eyes, and se how greate a multitude "of poore people renne thorow euery towne: haue "pitie on thyne awne flesh, helpe them with a good "harte, and do with thy councell all that euer thou

" canst, that this vnshamefast beggynge maye be put
" downe, that these ydle folkes maye be set to laboure,
" & that soch as are not able to get theyr lyuynge,
" maye be prouyded for. At the leest thou y^t art of
" councell with soch as are in auctoryte, geue them
" some occasyon to cast theyr heades together, and
" to make prouysyon for the poore. Put thē in
" remembraunce of those noble cityes in other coun-
" trees, that by the auctoryte of theyr prynces haue so
" rychely ād well prouided for theyr poore people, to
" the greate shame & deshonestye of vs, yf we
" lykewyse receauynge y^e worde of Got, shewe not
" soch lyke frutes therof."

He then describes the purport of each book in the Old Testament; and concerning the book of Kings he says, after showing what is related therein:—
"Thus wente it with thē in the olde tyme, and euen
" after y^e same maner goeth it now with vs: God be
" praysed therfore, ād graunte vs of his fatherly mercy,
" that we be not vnthankfull: lest where he now
" geueth vs a Josaphat, an Ezechias, yee a very Josias,
" he sende vs a Pharao, a Jeroboam, or an Achab."

" Now where as the most famous interpreters of all
" geue sondrye iudgmentes of the texte (so farre as it
" is done by y^e sprete of knowlege in the holy goost)
" me thynke noman shulde be offended there at, for
" they referre theyr doinges in mekenes to the sprete of
" trueth in the congregacyon of god: & sure I am,
" that there commeth more knowlege and vnderstond-
" inge of the scripture by theyr sondrie translacyons,
" then by all the gloses of oure sophisticall doctours.

" For that one interpreteth somthynge obscurely in one " place, the same translateth another (or els he him " selfe) more manifestly by a more playne vocable of " the same meanyng in another place. Be not thou " offended therfore (good Reader) though one call a " scrybe, that another calleth a lawyer: or elders, that " another calleth father & mother: or repentaunce, " that another calleth pennaunce or amendment. For " yf thou be not disceaued by mens tradiciōs, thou " shalt fynde no more dyuersite betwene these termes " then betwene foure pens and a grote." He says that in this translation accordingly, he has sometimes rendered it one way and sometimes the other, without any avoidance or shunning of particular words.

" Now to conclude: for so moch as all the scrip- " ture is wrytten for thy doctryne & ensample, it " shalbe necessary for the, to take holde vpon it, whyle " it is offred the, yee and with ten handes thankfully " to receaue it. And though it be not worthely " ministred vnto the in this translacyon (by reason of " my rudnes) Yet yf thou be feruēt in thy prayer, " God shal not onely sende it the in a better shappe, " by the mynistracyon of other that beganne it afore, " but shall also moue the hertes of them, which as " yet medled not withall, to take it in hande, and to " bestowe the gifte of theyr vnderstondynge theron, " as well in oure language as other famous inter- " preters do in other languages. And I praye God, " that thorow my poore ministracyon here in, I maye " geue them that can do better, some occasyon so to " do: exhortyng the (most deare reader) in the meane

" whyle on Gods behalfe, yf thou be a heade, a " Iudge, or ruler of y^e^ people, that thou let not the " boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but " exercise thyselfe therin both daye and nyghte, and " be euer readyng in it as longè as thou lyuest: that " thou mayest lerne to feare the Lorde thy God, & " not to turne asyde from the commaundement, nether " to the right hande ner to the lefte: lest thou be a " knower of personnes in iudgmēt, and wrest the " righte of the straunger, of the fatherles or of the " wedowe, and so y^e^ curse to come vpon the. But " what office so euer thou hast wayte vpon it, and " execute it, to the mayntenaunce of peace, to the " welth of thy people, defendynge the lawes of God, " and the louers therof, and to the destruccyon of the " wicked.

" Yf thou be a preacher, and hast the ouersighte of " the flocke of Christ, awake and fede Christes shepe " with a good herte, & spare no laboure to do them " good, seke not thy selfe, & bewarre of fylthy lucre, " but be vnto y^e^ flocke an ensample, in y^e^ worde, in " cōuersacyon, in loue, in feruentnes of y^e^ sprete, " and be euer readynge, exhortynge, & teachynge in " Gods worde, that the people of God renne not vnto " other doctrynes, and lest thou thy selfe (whan thou " shuldest teach other) be founde ignoraunt therin. " And rather then thou woldest teach the people eny " other thynge then Gods worde, take the boke " in thyne hande, & reade the wordes euē as they " stonde therin (for it is no shame so to do, it is more " shame to make a lye). This I saye for soch, as are

" not yet experte in the scripture, for I reproue no " preachyng without the boke as longe as they saye " the trueth.

" Yf thou be a man that hast wyfe and childrē, " first loue thy wyfe, acordynge to the ensample of the " loue, wherwith Christ loued the cōgregacion, and " remembre that so doynge, thou louest euen thy " selfe: yf thou hate her, thou hatest thine awne " flesh: yf thou cherishe her and make moch of " her, thou cherisest & makest moch of thyselfe: " for she is bone of thy bones, & flesh of thy flesh. " And who so euer thou be that hast children, bryng " them vp in the nurtour and informacion of the " Lorde. And yf thou be ignoraunt, or art other- " wyse occupied laufully that thou canst not teach " them thy selfe, then be euen as diligent to seke a " good master for thy childrē, as thou wast to seke " a mother to beare them: for there lieth as great " weight in the one as in y^e^ other. Yee better it " were for thē to be vnborne, then not to feare God, " or to be euel brought vp. which thynge (I meane " bryngynge vp well of children) yf it be diligently " loked to, it is the vpholdinge of all comon welthes: " and the negligence of the same, the very decaye of " all realmes."

He finishes by exhorting the reader to practise himself well in the word of God, " and be not onely " an outwarde hearer, but a doer therafter."

The reader, we hope, will pardon the length of the above extracts, for the sake of having in them, a good specimen of Coverdale's writings.

In the last page, it is stated to be "Prynted in the "yeare of oure LORDE M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October." Mr. Lewis, however, describes the copy of the Bible[i] which he examined, as mentioning in the preamble to the dedication, the king's dearest just wife, queen Jane, instead of queen Anne.[k] This is a plain inconsistency with the statement in the last page, as it is certain that the king did not marry queen Jane, till the 10th of May, 1536, consequently more than half a year after the date of finishing the Bible. But if we suppose, as Mr. Cotton is inclined to think, that the preliminary pieces of this Bible were printed in England, we can easily account for part having been published in queen Anne's time, and part in queen Jane's.[l]

[i] Sion College. [k] See ante, p. 51. [l] See note G.

CHAPTER V.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE. — WHETHER PUT FORTH BY THE KING'S AUTHORITY OR NOT. — ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST. — APPARENTLY AT ONE TIME HAD OBTAINED THE KING'S SANCTION. — WHICH AFTERWARDS WAS NEITHER CONFIRMED NOR WITHDRAWN. — SPECIMEN OF THIS TRANSLATION.

WHETHER or not this translation was issued by the king's authority and approbation, appears hitherto to have been a matter of some doubt. Mr. Lewis is of opinion that it was; and he instances, in support of this view, a passage in a little MS. book of devotions, preserved in the family of Francis Wyat, Esq., of Boxley, in Kent.[a] This book, as the tradition of the family goes, was the present of Anne Boleyn to her maids of honour. The passage referred to is to the following effect:—"Grante us, most mercyful "father, this one of the greatest gyftes that ever thowe "gavest to mankynde, *the knowledge of thie holy* "*wille and gladde tidinges of oure saluation*, this "greate while oppressed with the tyrannye of thy "adversary of *Rome* and his fautors,[b] & kepte close

[a] Hist. Transl. Bible, p. 97. [b] "Favourers."

" vndre his *Latyne Lettres*, and now at length *pro-*
" *mulgate publyshed and sette at lybertie by the grace*
" *poured into the harte of thy supreme power our*
" *prince*, as all Kinges hartes be in thie hande, as in
" the olde Lawe dydest use lyke mercye to thie people
" of Israell by thie hie Instrument the good King
" *Josia*, whiche restored the temple decayed to his
" former beawtie, abolyshed all worshippynge of
" Images and Ydolatrye, and sette abrode the Lawe
" by the space of many hundred yeres befor cleane
" oute of remembraunce."

He adduces, as a further proof of the correctness of his opinion, a clause in the injunctions,[c] issued by Lord Cromwell, in 1536, concerning matters of religion, which is as follows:—

" Item, That every Parson or Proprietary of any
" Parish Church within this realme, shall, on this side
" the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, next comming, pro-
" vide a booke of the whole Bible, both in Latine, and
" also in English, and lay the same in the Quire, for
" every man that will to looke and read thereon, and
" shall discourage no man from the reading of any part
" of the Bible, either in Latine or English; but rather
" comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read
" the same as the very word of God, and the spirituall
" food of man's soule, whereby they may the better
" know their duties to God, to their soveraigne Lord
" the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and
" charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and

[c] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 388. Collier's Eccl. Hist.

" a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition " of the true sense of the same, they doe in no wise " stiffely or eagerly contend or strive one with another " about the same, but referre the declaration of those " places that be in controversie to the judgement of " them that be better learned."

He observes upon this clause, that the translation of Coverdale must be the one here meant, as it was the only one of the whole Bible then extant in English.[d]

The testimony of Fulke, a contemporary of Coverdale's, is also corroborative of Lewis's opinion. He says,[e] " I my selfe, and so did many hundreds beside " me, heare that reuerend father, M. Doctor Couer- " dale, of holy and learned memorie, in a sermon at " Paules Crosse, vpon occasion of some slaunderous " reportes, that then were raysed againste his transla- " tion, declare his faithfull purpose in doing the same, " which after it was finished, and presented to K. " Henry the eight, of famous memorie, and by him " committed to diuerse bishops of that time to pervse, " of which (as I remember) Steuen Gardiner was one: " after they had kept it long in their handes, and " the King was diuerse times sued vnto for the pub- " lication thereof, at the last being called for by the " King him selfe, they redeliuered the booke: and " being demaunded by the King what was their iudge- " ment of the translation, they aunswered that there " were many faultes therein. Well, said the King, " but are there anye heresies maintayned thereby?

[d] Hist. Transl. Bible, p. 104. [e] Defence of Transl. Bible, p. 4.

" They answered that there was no heresies that they " could finde, maintained thereby. If there be no " heresies, sayd the King, then in Gods name let it goe " abroad among our people. According to this iudge- " ment of the King and the Bishops, M. Couerdale " defended his translation, confessing that he did now " him selfe espie some faultes, which if he might " reuiew it once ouer againe, as he had done twise " before, he doubted not but to amend: but for any " heresie, he was sure there was none maintained by " his translation."

On these evidences, several authors have concurred in assuming, that this Bible was circulated by the king's authority.

It has been contended, on the other side, that the evidence of the MS. Manual of Devotions, merely rests on the credit of a tradition, which may have substituted the name of queen Anne for queen Jane; and that it is worthy of little consideration, if unsupported by more weighty proofs: that the testimony of Fulke is also deficient, inasmuch that Coverdale might refer to one of the subsequent translations, in which he was engaged: and that, to come to the main proof, on which this opinion is grounded, namely, the clause in the injunctions of 1536, commanding the Bible to be set up in every church, which would appear at first sight to be conclusive in favour of this opinion, as there was clearly no other translation of the whole Bible at that time, and to Coverdale's alone, therefore, could such a clause refer; this testimony can be overthrown most com-

pletely; for there is, in point of fact, no such clause at all in the injunctions themselves, in the authentic copy, as it stands in Cranmer's register.[f] There is no such clause in Burnet, who copied from the register; and therefore the only authority for it, is Fox, who is not so accurate as to induce one to take his testimony against the authenticated copy of the instrument itself. As Mr. Jenkyns properly suggests,[g] Fox no doubt took it from a draft of the injunctions, which was afterwards amended.

Mr. Jenkyns also adds, that it is not to be supposed that Cranmer would have thanked Cromwell so warmly, or have been so much rejoiced as he was when Cromwell procured the Bible, commonly called Matthew's, to be allowed by his majesty's authority, in 1537,[h] had the king, little more than a year before, granted his license to an earlier edition. He would hardly have magnified Cromwell's merit to so great a height, if there had been already a Bible in the hands of the people, and allowed by the king's authority.[i]

And now, having given the arguments on the one side and on the other, we shall state, that it seems very possible that Coverdale's Bible was sanctioned by the king's authority, although only for a short time. For a contemporary of Coverdale's, a writer of undoubted credit, tells us,[k] that "through the

[f] Fol. 97, b. [g] Remns. of Cranm. vol. i. p. 200, n. i.
[h] See his letters on this subject, post, pp. 81 and 82.
[i] Remns. of Cranm. pref. p. xxvii.
[k] Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 385, ed. 1572.

" intercession of queen Anne, the king at last granted " that English Bibles might be printed and placed " in every church, where the people might read " them. Which concession of the king," adds that writer, " did not then take effect, because, shortly " after,[1] queen Anne was beheaded."

Here is at once an easy solution of all these apparent contrarieties. The tradition of the MS. Book of Devotions being given by queen Anne, is without doubt quite correct. Coverdale's statement of Henry's conduct with regard to his Bible, as related by Fulke, did refer to this Bible, for Henry did for a time approve of it. Fox's copy of the injunctions was taken from one, which was actually drawn out. But when the queen fell into disgrace, all her adherents, and all that she supported, became no longer tolerable to the king. The injunctions, which although drawn up, were not probably issued, were suppressed, and new ones published in their place.

Coverdale, with the change, lost his interest at court; or rather, those who supported him were afraid to revive the mention of a work, of which the unfortunate queen had been a promoter and chief mover: they were contented, therefore, rather to let the work find its own way unmolested, than to run the chance of having it suppressed, if they solicited the king to give it his authority. The same reasons, that prevented Coverdale's translation from being again presented for the king's notice, did not hold good for

[1] She was beheaded on the 19th May, 1536.

another edition; and accordingly we find the edition of 1537 presented to the king, and obtaining the king's approbation. The joy exhibited in Cranmer's letters will then appear nothing more than what would naturally be raised in the mind of that great man, when he found that what he considered the only true measure to enlighten the people was really at last effected.

Mr. Jenkyns also brings forward as another proof that Coverdale's Bible was not authorized by the king,[m] that in June, 1536, the convocation again prayed the king, "that he would indulge, unto his "subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in "the English tongue, and that a new translation of "it might be made for that end and purpose."[n]

This, however, does not disprove that Coverdale's Bible was, at one time, allowed and approved of by the king, although the allowance was afterwards withdrawn. By the convocation praying for a new translation, it would appear, as Coverdale himself said in his sermon at Paul's Cross, that his version was objected to, on account of the errors, which, it was alleged, it contained.

On the whole, the following would appear to be the real circumstances of the case: that Coverdale was encouraged to print the Bible by some of those about the court, who had influence with queen Anne: that a few copies only were at first circulated, in order that the king's license might be procured, and

[m] Remns. of Cranm. pref. p. xxvii.

[n] Heylyn, quoted in Lewis's Transl. of Bible, p. 102.

the rest printed with the words stating such license in the title page: that they were submitted for the king's perusal, who consulted the bishops on the subject: that they told him there were many errors in them; but that he, influenced and persuaded by the queen, and finding, even by the bishops' confessions, that there were no heresies maintained in them, gave orders that injunctions should be made, commanding them to be set up in the churches: that in the mean while, and before these injunctions were publicly issued, queen Anne fell under the king's displeasure: that the Bible having thus lost its chief supporter, those around the king ventured to represent the danger of issuing a translation that was full of errors: that the king, easily swayed by his humour, and having no one to uphold his original intention, allowed the injunctions to be altered: that thus Coverdale's translation was suffered to fall to the ground, being neither prohibited nor sanctioned: and that the remainder were issued from the press with the substitution of queen Jane, instead of queen Anne, both because it might have prejudiced the sale, the mention of the king's "dearest iust wyfe, "and most vertuous Pryncesse, Quene Anne," and because that queen Jane might thereby be induced to interest herself in its support.

Having thus examined into how far Coverdale's Bible was authorized by the king's sanction, let us now proceed to say a few words about its publication.

All those who are engaged in tracing the rise and progress of the reformed religion in England, must

look back to this period with considerable interest. The first grand step towards leading men into the right path, was at length, owing to the perseverance, the learning, and the zeal of Coverdale, accomplished. The word of God could now be perused by those desirous of instruction, in a language they could understand. It was no longer confined to the learned and the studious few; but the most ignorant and uninstructed could now derive from it those rules of conduct for their guidance in the path of right, for which they were before obliged to resort to men only less ignorant than bigoted and superstitious; to men, whose interest it was to prevent them from the exercise of a free or rational judgment; to men, who inculcated less a real practice of religion, than an absurd devotion to its forms.

It is impossible to say, if Coverdale had not published this Bible, how long a time would have elapsed before some one else would have undertaken it. Although we may not doubt, but that few were as well qualified as him for the task; yet it is not to be supposed that in the then state of men's minds, many years could have elapsed, without some one undertaking so important and necessary a work for the furtherance of true religion and devotion. Coverdale's merit is however not the less on this account, and we owe him indeed a deep debt of gratitude, and may fairly assert, that to him we are mainly indebted for the many editions, which subsequently were published, and for which the king's approbation and license were at last obtained.

As to the merit to which this translation, as a pure and faithful one, is entitled, it is not the intention of the present writer to enter into any discussion; and indeed it would scarcely be called for, after the expressed opinions of so many learned scholars on the subject. Mr. Whittaker has shown, in a most complete and satisfactory manner, that the Hebrew text is by Coverdale, most faithfully and ably translated, and the sense most consonant to the original always adopted.[o] A late eminent divine,[p] who, whatever peculiar views he may have entertained on certain subjects, is universally allowed to be a man of much learning and judgment, scruples not to affirm, that this translation is one of more merit, and is more according to the original, (such as Coverdale had it,) than the present authorized version, which is commonly read in the churches.[q]

As a specimen of this translation, we here insert the ten commandments:—

EXODUS, CHAP. XX.

Deut. 5. a. ¶ And the LORDE spake all these wordes, and sayde: I
* Exo. 14. c. am the LORDE thy God, which *haue brought the out of the londe of Egipte from y^e^ house of bondage.

* Deu. 4. c. and 27. b. Thou shalt haue none other Goddes in my sight.* Thou shalt make the no grauen ymage ner eny symilitude, nether of it that is aboue in heauen, ner of it that is beneth vpon earth, ner of it that is in the water vnder the earth. Worshipe them not, and serue them not: for I the
* Naũ. 1. a. Exo. 34. a. Deu. 7. b. LORDE thy God am a* gelouse God, vysitinge y^e^ synne of the fathers vpon the children, vnto y^e^ thirde and fourth

[o] Hist. and Crit. Enq. p. 51—58.

[p] Dr. Geddes, in his answers to queries, &c. [q] See Note H.

generacion, of them that hate me: And do mercye vpō many thousandes, that loue me, and kepe my commaundementes.

Leui. 19. c. Ecclī. 23. b. * Le. 24. b. ℣ Thou shalt not take the name of y' LORDE thy God in vayne.* For the LORDE shal not holde him vngiltie, that taketh his name in vayne.

Exo. 23. b. 34. c. 35. a. Eze. 20. b. Remembre the Sabbath daie, that thou sanctifie it. Sixe dayes shalt thou laboure and do all thy worke: But vpon the seuenth daye is the Sabbath of the LORDE thy God: thou shalt do no maner worke in it, nether thou, ner thy sonne, ner thy doughter, ner thy seruaunt, ner thy mayde, ner thy catell, ner thy straunger that is within thy gates. For in sixe dayes the LORDE made heauen and earth, and the see, and all that ther in is, and rested vpon the seuenth daye: therfore the LORDE blessed the seuenth daye, & halowed it.

Gene. 2. a.

Matt. 15. a. Ephe. 6. a. Honoure thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest lyue longe in the londe, which the LORDE thy God shal geue the.

℣ Thou shalt not kyll.

Thou shalt not breake wedlocke.

Thou shalt not steale.

Thou shalt beare no false wytnesse agaynst thy neghboure.

* Ro. 7. b. and 13. b. Thou shalt not* lust after t' neghbours house.

Thou shalt not lust after thy neghbours wife, ner his seruaūt, ner his mayde, ner his oxe, ner his Asse, ner all that thy neghboure hath.

CHAPTER VI.

MATTHEW'S BIBLE PUBLISHED. — GRAFTON'S LETTERS TO LORD CROMWELL CONCERNING IT. — THE CLERGY MUCH OFFENDED AT THIS EDITION, ON ACCOUNT OF THE PROLOGUE AND PREFATORY PIECES ATTACHED TO IT. — COVERDALE SUPERINTENDS THE PRINTING OF ANOTHER BIBLE AT PARIS. — HIS LETTERS TO LORD CROMWELL. — THE WHOLE IMPRESSION OF THE BIBLE IS SUDDENLY SEIZED ON, AND COVERDALE HIMSELF NARROWLY ESCAPES THE INQUISITION.—THIS BIBLE PROCEEDED AFRESH WITH, AND PUBLISHED IN 1539.

In 1537, another Bible was printed, of a larger and different type than that of Coverdale's, and on larger paper.* It is commonly called Matthew's Bible, because in the title page it is stated to be translated by Thomas Matthew; but it is now pretty generally understood that this was a fictitious name, and merely designed to obviate any prejudice that might have been conceived against it, had it been mentioned who were the real translators of it. Mr. Lewis says, that this translation was taken as far as

* Copies: Brit. Mus.—Lambeth.—Bodleian.—St. Paul's.—Christ Church.—Baliol Coll.—All Souls Coll.—Earl of Bridgewater.—Earl of Pembroke.—Bapt. Mus. Bristol.—Mr. Tutet.—Mr. Offor.—Mr. Bagster.

it would go of Tyndal's, and the rest by Coverdale. Rogers was the superintendent,[b] and Lewis says, he thinks that Cranmer was one of the curators. Fox and Strype say, it was published at Hamburgh; Mr. Wanley thought at Paris; and Mr. Lewis says, it is plain that the types are German, and that it was very probably printed at Marbourg, in the province of Hesse, where the Pentateuch and the Practice of Prelates were printed, and where Rogers was the superintendent.[c] It has a dedication to the king, and on the title page, in red letters, "Set forth with the "Kinges most gracyous licēce."

Grafton and Whitchurch were the persons at whose cost this work was published; and as soon as it was finished, Cranmer sent a copy of it to Lord Cromwell, telling him, that in his opinion, it was very well done. And he prayed him, inasmuch as there had been great pains taken in setting it forth, and since it was dedicated to the king, that he would exhibit it unto his grace, and obtain of him, if possible, a license that the same might be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance, heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that they the bishops should set forth a better translation, which he thought would not be "till a day after "Domes day." And he assured Cromwell, that although in the mean time, he might "suffre some "snubbes, many sclandres, lyes, and reproches," for

[b] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 516. Fox gives a most erroneous and imperfect account of this Bible.

[c] Hist. Transl. Bible, p. 108.

the interest he took in setting forth God's word; yet that one day he would be fully requited for it. This letter was dated the 4th of August.[d]

On the 13th of the same month, he wrote again to Lord Cromwell,[e] saying that he understood that his lordship had not only exhibited the Bible to the king, but had also obtained the king's license that it might be read and bought in his realm. For the pains he had taken in this matter, he begged his lordship to receive his most hearty thanks, assuring him that he had done him a greater pleasure than if he had given him a thousand pounds; and he doubted not that, besides God's reward for this high and acceptable service that he had done to God and the king, his name would be for ever handed down to posterity. That as for himself, his lordship might reckon him his bondman for the same, and so also he might, he made bold to say, his lordship of Worcester, (Latimer.)

On the 28th of the same month, in another letter that he wrote to Lord Cromwell, so overjoyed was he, that he could not forbear again adverting to this subject, and thanking his lordship anew for what he had done in setting forth the Bible.[f]

The same day, Grafton addressed a letter to Lord Cromwell, accompanied by six Bibles, which he sent, he said, according to his lordship's desire, and which

[d] Orig. MS. Chapt. Ho. Westm. Printed in the State Papers, vol. i. pt. 2, no. xciv.

[e] Orig. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 329 b.

[f] Orig. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 292.

he made bold to desire his acceptance of, as his simple gift, for the pains he had taken in setting forth God's word. He told his lordship, that by "moving his "most gracious prince to the allowance and licensing "of such a work, he had wrought such an act "worthy of praise, as ever was mentioned in any "chronicle in this realm." Yet, he said, notwithstanding, there were many who would not believe "that it had pleased the king's grace to license it to "go forth;" and he therefore requested that his lordship would give them a license under his privy seal for it. He doubted not that his lordship would be earnest therein, as it was for the advancement of God's word, and he was sure that their lordships of Canterbury, Worcester, and Salisbury, would give many thanks for the same. He had directed his servant, he said, to wait for an answer.[f]

His lordship, it seems, apprehensive, were he to do so, of the handle that he might thus give to his enemies against him, in case the translation should afterwards be found fault with, sent back for answer, that he did not think he would need a license; at the same time, desiring him to send some more of his Bibles.

Grafton accordingly did so, accompanying them with a long letter, in which he set forth the expense and labour he had been at in printing them. He informed his lordship, that there were several Dutchmen within the realm, who designed to reprint his

[f] Orig. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 330. See Appendix, No. 2.

Bible in a smaller type; and thus, not being at any expense, but taking all his work ready done, they would be able to undersell him. Their work would, no doubt, as others they had published, have as many errors in it as texts; for they were too covetous to pay a learned man £20 or £40 for correcting it. He therefore prayed his lordship, that he would procure him the king's privilege, that none should print them, till all that he had printed (1500 copies) had been sold off; which he said he did not think would be for three years; and that he should not find him unthankful for it, and he dared to say his Lord of Canterbury, and other his most special friends, would be much bounden to him for the same. For he had set his whole venture on these Bibles, and if he was hindered in the selling of them, it would be his utter ruin. But that if this privilege could by no means be obtained, "That yet for as moche as it hath "pleased the kynges highnes to lycence this worke "to go abroade and that it is the moost pure worde "of god which teacheth all true obedyence ȣ re-"proueth all scismes ȣ contencyons. And the lacke "of this worde of the allmyghtie god is the cause of "all blyndenes and supsticion, yt maye therfore be "comaunded by yor lordship in the name of or most "gracyous prynce, that eüy curat haue one of them "that they maye learne to knowe god ȣ to instruct "their parysshens." And that every abbey "of the "papisticall sorte" should be compelled to have six, to be placed in six several places, for the whole convent and resorters thereto to read therein. And he said

that even in the Bishop of London's diocese alone, there would be no small number thus disposed of. "For," says he, "I know that a small comyssyon "wyll cause my lorde of Canto'bury Salsbury & "Worsetter to cause yt to be done thorow their "dyocesse, ye and this shuld cease the whole scisme "& contencyon that is in the realme, which is some "callyng them of the olde and some of the new, "now shuld we all folow one god, one boke & one "learnynge. & this is hurtfull to no man but proffyt-"able to all men." He concluded by heartily wishing that his lordship might overcome all his adversaries of the papistical sort.[h]

It does not appear what answer Lord Cromwell returned to this letter; but it is most probable that no privilege was granted to him, as no record of any is to be found.

Whether or not the injunctions, published in the following year by Lord Cromwell, as vicar-general,[i] had reference to this edition of the Bible, cannot now be well ascertained. But it appears that Grafton's fear that others might reprint his translation, was realized; for in the same year (1537) there was another edition of it in folio,[k] published by some other printer.

The setting forth of this Bible of Matthews, we are told, did not a little offend the clergy; namely, "the Bishop of Winchester and his fellows," both

[h] Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. p. 325.
[i] See post, p. 106-7. [k] Bapt. Mus. Brist.

for the prologues, and more particularly, "because in "the same book was one special table collected of "the common places in the Bible, & the Scriptures for "the approbation of the same, and chiefly about the "supper of the Lord & marriage of priests, & the "mass, which there was said not to be found in the "Scripture."[l]

The consequence was that Henry was now often applied to that a new version of the Bible might be printed,[m] without any prologues or annotations, which they said were only made vehicles of heretical and defamatory matter;[n] and accordingly he committed the care of this to Lord Cromwell.[o] Cromwell, either wishing to make amends to Grafton for the denial of his former request, or thinking him to be the best person to whom so important a work could be intrusted, appointed him and his partner, Edward Whitchurch, to print a Bible, which, for correctness and superiority of workmanship, was to surpass any before undertaken.

At this time the paper, which was to be had in Paris, was much better than what could be procured in England; and the workmen too, in the former place, were more experienced and skilful, and in greater number. These considerations induced Grafton to think of printing it at Paris.

Where Coverdale had been in the mean time, since

[l] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 516.
[m] Herb. Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 495. ed. 1672.
[n] Lewis's Hist. Transl. Bible, p. 120. [o] Herbert, ibid.

the publication of his Bible at Zurich, in 1535-6, we have no means of ascertaining; and the first mention we have of him again, is now in a letter, which he addressed jointly with Grafton to Lord Cromwell.[p]

This letter was dated from Paris, the 23rd of June, and informed Lord Cromwell that they had entered upon his work of the Bible, of which they sent him two specimens: one on parchment, of which there would be only two copies; namely, for the king's grace, and for his lordship; and the other, on paper, of which all the rest would be. The paper, they told him, was the best in France, and the print, no doubt, would be to his liking. They confessed the charge certainly was great, and "they most humbly required his favourable help at that present, with whatsoever it should please his good lordship to let them have." They said, they doubted not but that this Bible would "be not only to the glory of God, but a singular plea-"sure also to his good lordship the causer thereof, "and a general edifying of the king's subjects." "For they followed not only a standing text of the "Hebrews, with the interpretation of the Chaldea "and the Greek, but they set also in a private table "the diversity of readings of all texts, with such "annotations; in another, singularity of opinions, "as all checkings & reproofs." They humbly desired his lordship's favourable letters, to defend them from the papists, directed either to the Bishop of

[p] Chapt. House, Westm. Bundle C. See Appendix, No. 3.

of Winchester,[q] or to whomsoever his lordship should think most expedient. For that "they were "daily threatened, and looked to be spoken withal, "as the bearer could further inform his lordship;" but how they would be used, as then they knew not. They said, they were the bolder to trouble his lordship, seeing that it would make them the abler to perform his lordship's work; for other refuge had they none, under God and their king, save his lordship.

In compliance with their request, Cromwell procured of Henry his letters to the French king, Francis the 1st, desiring him to permit and license a subject of his, to print the Bible in English within the university of Paris.[r] At the same time, the king wrote to his ambassador at Paris, who was then Edmund Boner, bishop of Hereford,[s] directing him to aid and assist the parties concerned in the work in all their reasonable demands. The which bishop, Fox tells us, outwardly shewed great friendship to Coverdale, Grafton, and Whitchurch, and particularly to Coverdale. He would insist upon their being almost daily at his table, both at dinner and supper;

[q] Gardiner, the king's ambassador at Paris.

[r] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 515, incorrectly numbered, as p. 513.

[s] Fox here says, Boner was the ambassador at Paris; while in the preceding letter, Gardiner is mentioned. Gardiner was some time in 1538 recalled from Paris, to be employed on other business, and Boner was then appointed to this office in his stead; but the exact time is not known when this change took place: however, if we are to trust Fox in the above statement, it must have been in the latter end of June, or beginning of July.

and took so great an interest in the progress of the work, that he would often go to the printer's house, where it was printing, and partake of the dinners which the Englishmen there had, which he paid for; little minding, as it seemed, the cost thereof. When afterwards he was appointed to the bishoprick of London, he sent for Grafton, and made him great promises of how he would promote the word of God in his diocese, and said to him, "I will have of your "Bibles set up in the church of Pauls, at least, in "sundrie places, six of them; & I will pay you honestly "for them, & give you heartie thanks."[t]

On the 9th of August, Coverdale, with Grafton and William Grey, addressed another letter[u] to Lord Cromwell, in which they said as the work was getting on, they had thought it their bounden duty to forward to his lordship certain leaves thereof, and that from time to time, as it was finished, they would send the rest. They then explain the meaning of the marks they had used in different parts of it.

On the 12th of September, Coverdale and Grafton wrote again to his lordship,[v] recommending to his favourable notice the suit of Francis Regnault, a Frenchman, concerning some English primers, &c. which he had printed, and which the company of stationers would not allow him to sell in England. As he was the man at whose office the Bible was

[t] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 515.

[u] Chapt. House, West. Bundle C. See Appendix, No. 4.

[v] In Coverdale's handwriting. MS. Chapt. Ho. Westm. Bundle C. See Appendix, No. 5.

printing, they hinted that the work would not fare the worse, if his lordship would further his request. They added, that the Bible was getting well forward, and within a few months, by the grace of Almighty God, would draw to an end.

On the 8th of December, Coverdale sent a letter[a] to Lord Cromwell, begging to know his lordship's pleasure, concerning the annotations of the Bible, whether he should proceed in them or not. "Pity "it were, said he, that the dark places of the text "(upon the which he had always set a hand ☞) "should so pass undeclared. As for any private "opinion or contentious words, as he would utterly "avoid all such, so would he offer the annotations "first to his Lord of Hereford; to the intent that he "should so examine the same, afore they were put "in print, if it were his lordship's good pleasure "that he should do so."—"And whereas his said "Lord of Hereford was so good unto them as to "convey this much of the Bible to his good lordship, "he humbly besought the same, to be the defender "and keeper thereof: to the intent that if those men "proceeded in their 'cruelnesse' against them & con-"fiscated the rest; yet that, at the least, might be "safe by the means of his lordship, whom God the "Almighty evermore preserve to his good pleasure."

What Coverdale here feared, soon took place; for Regnault, the printer, was, on the 17th of this month,[b]

[a] Orig. Harl. MS. cod. 604, p. 98. See Appendix, No. 6.
[b] Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 326.

cited to appear before the Inquisition, and was there charged with heresy, for printing the sacred writ in a vulgar tongue, whereby people were led into errors of faith and belief. And then the Englishmen concerned in this work, were sent for; but they, having some warning of what would follow, "posted away "as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving "behind them all their Bibles, which were to the "number of 2500."[y] These were seized and condemned, and delivered over to the lieutenant-criminal to be burnt, "in a place of Paris (like Smithfield), "called Haulbert Place." The cupidity of this officer, however, induced him to sell "four great "dryfats of them to a haberdasher, to lay caps in," which were afterwards bought again, but the rest were burned. "But notwithstanding the said losse "after they had recovered some part of the foresaid "books, and were comforted and encouraged by the "Lord Cromwell, the said English men went again "to Paris, and there got the Presses, letters, and "Servants, of the foresaid Printer, and brought them "to London, and there they became Printers them-"selves (which before they never intended), and "printed out the said Bible in London; and after "that printed sundrie impressions, but yet not with-"out great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the "Bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, "who mightily did stomack and maligne the printing "thereof."[z]

[y] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 516. [z] Id. ibid.

This Bible was accordingly finished and published in London, in April, 1539.[a] It is a large folio, and is often called Cranmer's Bible, because some copies have Cranmer's prologue in them; but it seems doubtful whether, in such cases, the prologue is not that of the real Cranmer's Bible of 1540, bound up in the edition of 1539. This view seems the more likely, as there is no mention of the prologue in the title-page of the edition of 1539, which there is in that of 1540.

There is a letter from Cranmer to Lord Cromwell, in the MSS. in the Chapter House at Westminster,[b] in which he begs, if his majesty has seen and allowed the preface which he wrote to the Bible, that it may be given unto the printer to print. The date of this letter is the 14th of November, but whether of 1538 or 1539, cannot be clearly ascertained; although, from one or two circumstances, it would appear that the latter date is most probably the correct one.

In a preface from the setters forth of this edition, there is the following passage: "We haue also (as "ye maye se) added many handes both in the "mergent of thys volume, and also in the texte, vpon "the which, we purposed to haue made in the ende "of the Byble (in a table by them selues) certen "godly annotacions: but for so moche as yet there

[a] Copies: Brit. Mus.—Lambeth.—St. Paul's.—Baliol Coll.—Linc. Coll.—St. John's Coll. Cambr.—Bapt. Mus. Bristol.—Dr. Coombe.

[b] Bundle C.

" hath not bene suffycient tyme minystred to the " Kynges moost honorable councell, for the ouersyght " and correccyon of the sayde annotacyons, we will " therfore omyt them, tyll their more cōuenient " leysour. Doynge nowe nomore but beseake the " moost gentle reader, that whē thou commest at " soche a place where a hande doth stande (or any " other where, in the Byble) and thow canst not " attayne to the meanynge and true knowledge of " that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make " any pryuate interpretacyon therof: but submyt " thy selfe to the iudgement of those that are godly " learned in Chryst Jesu. To the which Jesu with " the father and holy ghost be honoure and prayse " foreuer. Amen."

Although they were thus prevented from making any annotations, the marks served the purpose of pointing out those texts to notice, which, Strype says, were such " as did more especially strike at " the errors and abuses of the Romish church." [c]

[c] Life of Cranmer, p. 82.

CHAPTER VII.

LATIN AND ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT BY COVERDALE 'SYNISTRALLY' PRINTED IN LONDON. — DEDICATED TO KING HENRY. — PREFACE TO READER, EVIDENTLY NOT BY COVERDALE. — AN AUTHORIZED COPY BY COVERDALE PRINTED AT PARIS. — DEDICATED TO LORD CROMWELL. — COMPLAINS OF FORMER EDITION. — BUT EXCUSES THE PRINTER ON ACCOUNT OF HIS GOOD INTENTIONS. — PREFACE TO THE READER. — SOME OF THE PSALMS TRANSLATED INTO VERSE AND PUBLISHED BY COVERDALE. — SPECIMEN OF HIS VERSIFICATION.

In the mean time, a New Testament, in Latin and English, had been published by James Nicholson, in the Lent of 1538.[a] The English was of Coverdale's translation, and it was dedicated by him "To "the moost noble, moost gracious, and oure moost "dradde soueraigne lord Kynge Henry y^e^ eyght, "kynge of Englãde and of Fraunce. ⁊c. Defender "of Christes true fayth, ⁊ vnder God the chefe and

[a] Copies: King's Library.—Bodleian, imperfect. This edition is very rare. There was another edition, however, by the same printer. See List of Works, Art. 13.

" supreme heade of the churche of Englande, Ire-
" lande. &c."

He tells the king: " Consyderynge (moost gra-
" cious Soueraigne) how louyngly, how fauourably,
" and how tēderly your hyghnesse hath taken myne
" infancy & rudenesse in dedicatynge the whole bible
" in Englysh to your moost noble grace. And
" hauyng sure experience also how benygne and
" gracious a mynde your hyghnes doth euer beare to
" all thē that in theyr callyng are wyllynge to do
" theyr beste: It doth euē animate & encorage me
" now lykewyse to vse the same audacite towarde
" your grace." And this, he adds, " (doutles) is one
" of y^e^ chefest causes why I do now with moost
" hūble obedience dedicate & offre this translaciō of
" y^e^ new Testamēt vnto your moost royall maiestye."

He says he cannot but perceive how necessary it is, that even those who seek nothing but the glory of God, should commit themselves to the king's gracious protection. For the enemies of God's word cease not yet " to pycke quarels, & to seke out new
" occasions, how they may depraue & synistrally
" interprete our wel doynges. And where as w^th^ all
" faythfulnes we go about to make our brethren
" (youre graces louynge subiectes) participante of the
" frutes of oure good wylles, they yet not regardynge
" what profite we wolde be glad to do them, reporte
" euell of vs, sklaunder vs, and saye the worste of
" vs: Yee they are not ashamed to affirme, that we
" intende to peruerte the scripture, and to condemne
" the commune translacion in Latyn, whych cos-

" tumably is red in the church: where as we pur-
" pose the cleane contrary. And because it greueth
" them that your subiectes be growen so farre in
" knowlege of theyr dewtye to God, to youre grace,
" & to theyr neghboures, theyr inwarde malyce doth
" breake oute in to blasphemous & vncomlye wordes,
" in so much that they cal your louynge & faythfull
" people, heretikes, new fangled fellowes, English
" biblers, coblers of diuinite, fellowes of the new
" fayth. &c. with such other vngodly sayenges."
How needful a thing then is it, he adds, that they should put themselves under his grace's protection! without which, they would be indeed as "Orphanes, " and vtterly desolate of comforte."

And he says, to show how little he despises the common translation in Latin, called St. Hierom's, which is the one read in the churches, or any other, he has here set it forth: and this, " not so much for " the clamorous importunyte of euell speakers, as to " satisfye the iust request of certayne your graces " faythfull subiectes. And specially to induce and " instructe such as can but Englishe, & are not " learned in the Latin, that in cōparynge these two " textes together, they maye the better vnderstonde " the one by y^e^ other. And I doute not but such " ignoraunt bodies as (hauynge cure and charge of " soules) are very vnlearned in the Latyn tunge, " shall trough thys smal laboure be occasioned to " atteyn vnto more knowlege, and at the leest be " cōstrayned to saye well of the thynge, whyche " here tofore they haue blasphemed. The ignoraūce

" of which men yf it were not so exceadyng great,
" a man wolde wonder what shulde moue thē to
" make such importune cauillacions agaynst vs. It
" is to be feared, that frowardnesse and malice is
" myxte with theyr ignoraūce. For in as much as in
" our other translacions we do not followe thys olde
" Latyn texte word for word they cry out vpō vs:
" As thoūgh al were not as nye the truth to trāslate
" the scripture out of other languages, as to turne it
" out of the Latyn. Or as though the holy goost
" were not the authoure of his scripture aswell in
" the Hebrue, Greke, French, Dutche, and in Eng-
" lysh, as in Latyn. The scripture ℭ worde of
" God is truly to euery Christē man of lyke worthy-
" nesse and authorite, in what language so euer the
" holy goost speaketh it. And therfore am I, and
" wyl be whyle I lyue (vnder youre moost gracious
" fauoure and correction) alwaye wyllynge and ready
" to do my best aswel in one translation, as in
" another."

He observes that the present translation in Latin is so faulty and erroneous, that it would be " a godly " ℭ gracious dede, yf they that haue authorite, know-" lege, and tyme, wolde (vnder youre graces cor-" rectiō) examen it better after the moost auncient " interpreters and moost true textes of other lan-" guages. For certaynly, in cōparynge dyuerse " examplers together, we se, that in many places " one copye hath eyther more or lesse then another, " orels the texte is altered from other languages."

In conclusion he says: " To geue other men occa-

" sion now to do theyr best, and to expresse my good
" wyll, yf I could do better, I haue for the causes
" aboue rehearsed, attempted thys smal laboure, sub-
" myttynge (with all humblenesse and subiection) it
" and all other my lyke doinges, to your graces moost
" noble Maiestye. Not onely because I am bounde
" so to do, but to the intent also that through youre
" moost gracious defence, it maye haue the more
" fredome amonge your obedient subiectes, to the
" glory of the euerlastynge God."

There is also a preface to the reader, but as this seems, both from the style and sentiments, evidently not from Coverdale's pen (although portions of it may have been), and as it contains nothing of particular interest or curiosity, we have not deemed it necessary to give any description of it here.

This work was, it seems, as Coverdale styled it, " synistrally prynted and negligently corrected." Grafton tells us, that a stranger brought a copy of it to Paris, and that when Coverdale had examined it, " he found his name added thervnto as the trans-
" lator, with thewhich he neuer had to do, nether
" sawe he it before it was full prynted and ended."[1] This, however, seems to be a mistake or exaggeration of Grafton's, as we shall afterwards see by Coverdale's own statement. Grafton, therefore, at his request, reprinted it at Paris; " although," as he said, " he had ynough to do besyde." Fox says, that it was Boner, that caused the printers to undertake

[1] Letter from Grafton to Cromwell, Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 328. Dated December 1 (1538).

this Paris edition, and that he bought a great many of them himself, and gave them away also among his friends.[c] This edition was issued from the press before the beginning of December, 1538.[d]

It was dedicated "To the ryght honorable lorde "Cromwell: lorde preuye seale, vice-gerent to the "Kynges hyghnesse, concernyng all his iurisdiccion "ecclesiasticall within the realme of Englande."

He begins, "I was neuer so wyllinge to laboure "and trauayll for the edifyeng of my brethren (right "honorable & my singular good lorde) but I am, and "purpose to be while I lyue, by gods grace, euen as "readye to amende & redresse anye maner of thynge, "that I can espye to be ether synistrally prynted, or "negligently correcte. And no lesse do I esteme it "my dewtye to amende other mens fautes, then yf "they were myne awne. Trueth it is, that this last "lent I dyd with all hūblenesse directe an Epistle "vnto the kynges most noble grace: trustinge, that "the boke (wher vnto it was prefixed) shulde after-"warde haue bene aswell correcte, as other bokes "be. And because I coulde not be present my selfe "by the reason of sondrye notable impedimētes) "therfore in asmoch as the new testament, which I "had set forth in English before,[e] doth so agree with "the latyn, I was hartely well contēt, that the latyn

[c] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 315, incorrectly numbered as p. 513.

[d] Copies: St. Paul's.—Bapt. Mus. Bristol.—Dr. Coombe and Herbert had both copies.

[e] He probably here alludes to the New Testament mentioned further on, p. 103, and in List of Works, Art. 11.

" and it shulde be set together: Prouyded allwaye, " that the correctour shulde followe the true copye " of the latyn in anye wyse, and to kepe the true & " right Englishe of the same. And so doynge I " was cōtēt to set my name to it. And euen so I dyd: " trustinge, that though I were absent & out of the " lande, yet all shuld be well: And (as God is " my recorde) I knew none other, till this last Julye, " that it was my chaūce here in these parties at a " straungers hande, to come by a copye of the sayde " prynte. Which whan I had perused, I founde, " that as it was disagreable to my former translacion " in English, so was not the true copye of the latyn " texte obserued, nether the english so correspondent " to the same, as it ought to be: but in many places " both base, insensyble, & cleane contrary, not onely " to the phrase of oure language, but also from the " vnderstondyng of the texte in latyn." He therefore sets forth this corrected edition, though, as he says, " my businesse be greate ynough besyde;" and he humbly offers it to his lordship " according " to the dewtye that I owe vnto youre lordshippes " office, in the iurisdiction ecclesiasticall of oure " most noble kynge;"—" besechinge you, that " (where as this copye hath not bene exactly fol- " lowed afore) the good hart and wyll of the doars " maye be considered, & not the necligence of the " worke: Specially, seing they be soch men: which " as they are glad to prynt and set forth any good " thyng, so wyll they be hartely well content, to haue " it truly correcte, that they them selues of no malyce

" ner set purpose haue ouersene. And for my parte " (though it hath bene dāmage to my poore name) I " hartely remitte it, as I do also the ignoraunce of " those, which (not long agoo) reported, that at the " prynting of a right famous mans sermon, I had " depraued the same, at the doyng wherof I was " thirtie myle from thence, neither dyd I euer set " pēne to it, though I was desyred."

And " as concernyng this texte of latyn, because " it is the same that is red in the church, ȣ therfore " comōly the more desyred of all men, I do not doute, " but after that is examined of the lerned (to whom " I most hartely referre it) it shall instructe the " ignoraūt, stoppe the mouthes of euell speakers, ȣ " induce both the hearers and readers to fayth ȣ good " workes:" which if it so come to pass, " then haue " I my hole desyre, ȣ all the gaynes that I seke " herin."

And in conclusion he says: " I might haue dedi- " cate vnto youre lordshippe some other litle treatise, " touchinge some parte of the admynistraciō of the " comen welth (as prudence, policye, or some other " pryuate vertue). But for asmoch, as in the new " testament is conteyned the very pith and sub- " staunce of all vertue, and the paterne of all good " gouernaūce: Coūdering also that youre lordshippe " doth aduaunce nothīg so moch as the true wor- " shippe of God, the kynges honour, the welth of " his realme, ȣ increace of all vertu (which this new " testamēt doth teach) I thought no thing meter to " sende vnto you, thē that which ye daylie occupied

" with all, & that all youre chefe studye & pleasure " is in."

In his preface to the reader, he thus expresses himself: " Thys translacion (most deare reader) " haue I wyth a right good wyll set forth for thy " edifyeng, trustyng that yf thou vse it well, it shall " moue the to increace, and growe in all soch " verteous wayes, as allmyghtie God hath begonne " in the. And where as it hath not bene set forth " vnto the heretofore so exactly and in all poyntes so " perfectly as myght haue bene, I praye the conster " all to the best, and blame neyther the prynter ner " me, consydering, that we beare no worse mynde " vnto the, then thou doest to thy selfe.

" And for my parte, I wyll desyre nothinge of the " agayne, but that (as thou art graciously lycensed " by the goodnes of God in oure prynce, to reade " and enioye thys and all the other partes of the " lyuely worde of God) thou wylt so embrace it, " folowe it, and practise it in thy daylie lyuinge, that " thou euen marye thy selfe to the frutes of the holy " goost therin: And so to vse it, that thou be sober " in the knowlege therof, not onely avoyding all con- " tencion and strife, But also wyth all humblenesse, " & vnder correction to requyre of them (that be " lerned in scripture) the true sense and vnderstond- " ing of soch places, as vnto the be yet darke and " obscure."

And he says, " As touching thys texte in latyn, " and the style therof (which is red in the church, " and is comenly called. S. Hieroms translaciō)

" though there be in it many and sondrye sentēces,
" wherof, some be more then the Greke, some lesse
" then the Greke, some in maner repugnaunt to the
" Greke, some contrary to the rules of the latyn
" tonge and to the ryght order therof, (as thou
" mayest easely perceaue, yf thou cōpare the diuer-
" syte of the interpreters. together) yet for asmoch
" as I am but a pryuate man and owe obedience vnto
" the hyer powers, I referre the amendment and
" reformacyon herof vnto the same, and to soch as
" excell in auctorite and knowlege. Onely in thys
" one thyng thus bolde I am (vnder correction) that
" where as the Greke and the olde awncient authours
" reade the prayer of oure lorde in the xi Chapter of
" Luke after one maner, leauyng out no peticion of
" the same, I folowe their lecture, though sondrye
" copies of the vulgar translacion do the contrary,
" omittyng two peticions therof."

In conclusion, he desires the reader to take this translation in good part, and to consider that many different translations act as commentaries the one upon the other, explaining, opening, and illustrating difficult passages.

There was another edition of this last work published in 1539; or rather it would appear that it was part of this same edition, with only a reprinted title-page.[f]

Coverdale's translation of the New Testament also came forth separately in 1538.[g]

[f] See List of Works, Art. 15.

[g] See List of Works, Art. 11.

Several of the Psalms were turned by Coverdale into English verse, and published with musical notes.[h] What was the exact date of this publication is not known, but it must have been prior to 1538. In his lines to his book, on sending it into the world, he says:—

" Be not ashamed I warande the
" Though thou be rude in songe and ryme
" Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
" In godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

We give the following Psalm at length, as a specimen of Coverdale's talents at versification.

PSALM CXXXVII.

At the ryvers of Babilon
there sat we downe ryght hevely
Euen whan we thought upon Sion
we wept together sorofully
for we were in soch hevynes
y' we forgat al our merynes
and left of all our sporte & playe
on the willye trees y' were therby
we hanged up our harpes truly
And morned sore both night & day.

2.

They that toke us so cruelly
and led us bounde into pryson
requyred of us some melody
with wordes full of derision
when we had hanged our harpes awaye
this cruell folke to us coulde saye

[h] Copy, the only one known to exist, in Queen's Coll. Oxford.

Now let us hear some mery songe
Synge us a songe of some swete toyne
as ye were wont to synge at Sion,
where ye have lerned to synge so longe.

3.

To whom we answerd soberly
beholde now are we in youre honde
how shulde we under captivite
synge to the lorde in a straunge londe
Hierusalem. I say to the
Yf I remembre the not truly
My honde playe on the harpe nomore
Yf I thynke not on the alwaye
Let my tonge cleve to my mouth for aye
and let my loose my speache therfore.

4.

Yee above all myrth and pastaunce
Hierusalem I preferre the
Lorde call to thy remembraunce
The sonnes of Edom ryght strately
In the daye of the destruccion
which at Hierusalem was done
for they sayd in their cruelnes
Downe with it, downe with it, destroye it all
Downe with it soone, that it may fall
Laye it to the grounde all that there is.

5.

O thou cite of Babilon
Thou thyselfe shalt be destroyed
Truly blessed shalbe that man
which even as thou hast deserved
Shall rewarde the with soch kyndnesse
As thou hast shewed to us gyltlesse
which never had offended the
Blessed shall he be that for the nones
Shall throwe thy chyldren agaynst the stones
To brynge the out of memorie.

CHAPTER VIII.

STEPS TAKEN IN ENGLAND FOR THE PROMULGATION OF THE SCRIPTURE. — INJUNCTIONS OF CROMWELL, AS VICAR-GENERAL, FOR THE SETTING UP OF A BIBLE IN EVERY PARISH CHURCH. — DECLARATION OF THE KING TO BE READ BY THE CURATES IN THE CHURCHES, THAT IT WAS HIS MAJESTY'S PLEASURE AND COMMAND, THAT THE BIBLE SHOULD BE SINCERELY TAUGHT AND OPENLY LAID FORTH IN EVERY PARISH CHURCH. — THE BISHOPS PERSUADE THE KING TO TAKE MEASURES AGAINST THE IMPORTATION FROM ABROAD OF REFORMED DOCTRINES. — ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES. — FALL OF CROMWELL. — CONSEQUENT DECLINE OF THE REFORMED PARTY.

BUT now to turn our attention to the steps that had been taken in England with regard to the promulgation of the Scriptures. Lord Cromwell, as vicar-general, had, in the month of September, 1538,[a] issued certain injunctions to the clergy,[b] amongst which were the following clauses:—

[a] Stow's Annals.

[b] Ex reg. Cranm. fol. 99. b. printed in Wilkins' Conc. M. B. They are there improperly classed under the year 1536. These injunctions are also printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 389.

"Item, that ye shall provyde on this side the feast "of —— —— next commyng, one boke of the whole "Bible of the largest volume in Englyshe, and the "same sett up in summe convenyent place within the "said churche that ye have cure of, whereat your "parishners may most commodiouslye resort to the "same and rede yt; the charges of whiche boke "shal be ratablie born between you the parson, and "the parishners aforsaid, that ys to say, the one half "by yowe, and th' other half by them.

"Item, that ye shall discorage no man pryvely or "apertly from the readinge or hearing of the same "Bible, but shall expresslye provoke, stere, and ex-"horte every parsone to rede the same, as that whyche "ys the verye lively worde of God, that every chris-"ten man ys bownde to embrace, beleve, and fol-"lowe, yf he loke to be saved; admonyshinge them "neverthelesse, to avoid all contention and alterca-"tion therin, and to use an honest sobrietye in the "inquisition of the true sense of the same, and "referre th' explication of obscure places to men of "higher jugement in Scripture."

He also ordered that the Lord's prayer in English should be read, and that they should examine their parishioners therein, and in the creed.

Whether this injunction referred to Matthew's Bible, or to the one that was then printing in Paris, and which, as we have seen, was expected soon to be finished, cannot be ascertained; for as the day is not named in the injunctions, we cannot tell whether it was one sufficiently distant, to have rendered it

probable that the Paris edition would be before then published. The king at the same time, gave out a royal declaration,[c] which the curates were requested to read in their several churches; informing the people, that it had pleased the king's majesty to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be sincerely taught by them, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church.

As the following part is somewhat curious, it is given word for word.

" And if at any tyme by reading any Doubt shall " come to any of yo^{u} touching the sense and meanyng " of any p̄te thereof, That thenne not geving to " moche to yo^{r} owne mynds fantazies and opinions " nor having thereof any open reasonyng in yo^{r} open " Tauernes or Alehowses, ye shall haue Recourse to " suche lerned men as be or shalbe auctorised to " preache and declare the same, Soo that avoyding " all contentions and disputacōns in such Alehowses " and other places vnmete for suche conferencs and " submytting yonr opinions to the Judgements of " suche lerned men as shalbe appoynted in this " behaulf, His grace may wel pceyue that yo^{u} vse " this most hiegh benefyte quietly and charitably " eūy of yo^{u} to the edefying of himself his wief and " famylye in al thinges aunswering to his hieghnes " good opinion conceyued of yo^{u} in thadvauncemēt " of v̄tue and suppressing of vice w^{t}out failing to vse " suche discrete quietnes and sober moderatyon in

[c] MS. Cott. Cleop. E. v. fol. 327, without date, but assigned by Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, to the year 1538.

" the premisses as is aforesaid As ye tender his gracs " pleas^{r} and intend to avoyde his hiegh indignacōn " and the p̄ill and daunger that may ensue to yo^{u} and " eūy of youe for the contrary."

Cranmer also, who, the see of Hereford being vacant, held a visitation in it in this year, published some injunctions to the parsons, vicars, and curates, commanding them to procure the Bible, or at least the New Testament, in Latin and English, and to study it diligently, and to prevent no one from reading the same; but rather encourage them, to the end that they might reform their lives, and learn their duty.[d]

But we are told that many of the priests opposed these measures as much as they could. " They read " confusedly the word of God, and the injunctions " set forth and commanded by them to be read; " humming and hawing, and hauking thereat, that " scarce any could understand them."—" They bad " their parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, " being compelled so to do, that they should do as " they did in times past, to live as their fathers; " and that the old fashion is the best: and other " crafty and seditious sayings they gave out among " them."[e]

Notwithstanding, however, Strype tells us, that " it was wonderful to see with what joy this book of " God was received, not only among the learneder

[d] Stry. Cranm. p. 70.

[e] Id. ibid. Strype quotes Cott. MS. Cleop. E. vi. p. 222, but there is nothing of the sort there.

" sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the " reformation, but generally all England over, among " all the vulgar and common people; and with what " greediness God's word was read, and what resort " to places where the reading of it was. Every " body that could, bought the book, or busily read " it, or got others to read it to them, if they could " not themselves, and divers more elderly persons " learned to read on purpose."[f]

And with the reading of the Bible, reformed opinions began to spread. Men naturally expected to find, in the commands of the sacred writ, an authority for every part of that religion in which they had been brought up; and when, on the contrary, they found many important ceremonies and tenets, which were not only unsanctioned by, but as the opinion of some went, were perfectly contrary to the spirit of Scripture, they at first murmured, and then openly questioned the propriety of their observing them any longer: and this they did, not in private places or meetings, but openly, publicly, in the taverns, and in all their assemblies. These discussions were so disagreeable to the bishops, and so clearly involving, sooner or later, a contempt of their authority, that they made frequent complaints of them to the king; and they alleged that the number of books that were printed abroad, and suffered to be imported into the realm, were the principal cause of them. Henry, who was extremely jealous lest his subjects should

[f] Life of Cranmer, p. 64.

presume to judge for themselves in matters of religion, and probably proceed to question his right to form rules for their spiritual guidance, lent a ready ear to these complaints; and accordingly, in November, 1538, he issued the following proclamation,[e] by which he commanded:—

That no one should, without the king's license, import, sell, or publish any English books printed abroad; on pain of forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure:

That no one within the realm should print any book in English, unless the same were first allowed by some of the king's privy council, or such other as his grace should appoint; and having such allowance that the words "cū privilegio Regali," were not to be put without adding, "ad imprimendū solū;" and that moreover the whole, or at least the effect of the license should be printed therein in the English tongue:

That no one should print or import from abroad "any boks of dyvyn scripture in the English tong "w^t any annotacons in the margyn or any prologe or "addytions in the Calendar or table except such "annotacons were first vieued examyned and allowed "by the kings hieghnes or such of his counsaile or "other as it should please his Ma^tie to assigne therto, "but oonly the playn sentence and texte w^t a table "or Repertory instructing the reader to fynde redely

[e] MS. Cott. Cleop. E. v. fol. 340. b. See Note I.

" the chapito's conteyned in the said booke and " theffects therof: "

That every book translated into the English tongue, should have the plain name of the translator thereto affixed; on pain of the printer being fined and imprisoned at the king's pleasure, or else the translator to suffer as if he were the printer:

And that no person within the realm should print any book of Scripture, unless examined and allowed by the king's highness, or one of his privy council, or by a bishop of the realm, whose name was to be expressed therein; on pain of losing all their goods and chattels, and suffering imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

The rest of this proclamation is against Anabaptists and other sectaries, desiring them to depart out of the realm within ten days after proclamation made; and it enjoins that none argue concerning the holy sacrament, nor against other rites and ceremonies not yet abrogated and annulled by his grace; and that no priests marry; and that those who have already done so, be expelled from their cures and benefices. In Fox's copy, there is also a further clause, concerning the abolishing of Thomas à Becket's day, and for annulling his canonization.

We may conclude that this proclamation did not answer the king's intentions; for on the 14th of November, 1539, he issued his letters patent,[h] addressed to all printers and sellers of books and other

[h] Pat. 31. Hen. 8. p. 4. m. 15. Rym. Fœd. See Note J.

his subjects; by which he informed them "that "beyng desirous to have our People at tymes con- "venyent geve theymselfes to th' atteynyng of the "knoulege of Goddes Worde," in order the better to honour him and keep his commandments, and do their duty towards their prince; and considering that the best means to effect so good an end was to grant them the free and liberal use of the Bible in their maternal English tongue: yet forasmuch as a diversity of translations might breed manifold inconveniences, if wilful and heady folk conferred thereupon, his majesty had thought it fit to appoint, that no one should attempt to print "any Bible in the "English Tonge of any maner of Volume, duryn the "Space of Fyve Yeres next ensuyng after the Date "therof;" unless they were licensed thereunto by the Lord Cromwell.

Several editions of Cranmer's Bible were printed in 1540, and the following year. The one printed in 1541, is expressed to be overseen by Tonstal and Heath, bishops of Durham and Rochester. This was in obedience to the king's injunctions of November, 1538: and we presume that the reason why the edition of 1540, also, is not expressed to be overseen by any one, is, that at that time Cromwell was alive, and in favour, and therefore his allowing it was sufficient.

In 1540, Cromwell, who had been for some time regarded by the king with secret displeasure, experienced the cruel reverse of fortune which always attended those who were favourites of this king.

From a low station he had been raised to the highest posts in the kingdom; and yet neither the suddenness nor eminence of his elevation had betrayed him into the vices, so common under similar circumstances—ingratitude and haughtiness. He was affable and courteous to all; and more than one instance is recorded of his grateful remembrance in prosperity, of benefits conferred upon him, when he was in a less elevated situation.

He was early inclined to the reformed religion, and from his prudent and wise conduct, and his great credit with the king, he was able to render it most efficient services. The ministers of king Henry were of a motley description. The Duke of Norfolk, who had great authority in the council, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, were both zealous supporters of the ancient religion. Cranmer and Cromwell were for the new. Queen Anne Boleyn, and queen Jane Seymour, who succeeded the former in Henry's affections, favoured the new. The king's interests sided with the latter party; whilst his prejudices were strongly engaged for the former. Both parties were obliged, while dealing with this imperious monarch, to feign an entire submission and perfect adherence to whatever he thought best; but the one sought always to break off all connection between him and the see of Rome, and to destroy the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics; while the other endeavoured to counteract these projects, and to discourage and put down the followers of the new tenets.

Cromwell had long had at heart the project of suppressing all the monasteries, and thus striking at the very roots of the great power and influence of the Roman Catholics; but this was a dangerous step to take, and required much caution. Wolsey had succeeded in suppressing some of the smaller monasteries, and endowing with their revenues the two colleges he had founded at Oxford and Ipswich. Cromwell, who was then in the service of the cardinal, was one of those chiefly engaged in this business, and some complaints of him were forwarded to the king, which much angered him, as we may learn from a letter his secretary addressed to Wolsey on this occasion.[i] However, when the king had become afterwards much less scrupulous about these matters, and when the immense riches and revenues of the convents tempted his cupidity, he did not hesitate to avail himself of Cromwell's assistance. A bill had been passed, as we have before noticed, to confer on the king alone the visitation and government of all the monasteries. Accordingly, in pursuance of this power, Cromwell, who had been made vicar-general, a new office, by which the whole of the king's authority over the church was delegated to him, appointed commissioners to visit and report on the state of the convents.

For some time past, complaints of the enormities and abuses of these religious societies were loudly made; and the report, which was undoubtedly framed

[i] Printed in the collection of State Papers.

with a wish to make them as bad as possible, fully justified these complaints. Nothing could exceed the vice and wickedness there said to be carried on; but the king wished only to proceed by degrees, and as the smaller monasteries were those, where these abuses were said chiefly to exist, being less exposed to the general eye, a bill therefore was introduced into parliament to suppress only all such as did not possess a revenue of more than two hundred pounds per annum.[k] Three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed by this act, and their revenues and property granted to the king.

This was a victory gained over the adherents of the ancient religion, inasmuch as it clearly involved an assertion of the falsity of the doctrine of purgatory. For since these monasteries were chiefly founded by religious persons for the purpose of saying masses for the souls of their deceased relations and friends, that were in purgatory, it would have been the height of impiety to have taken away the money intended for so sacred a purpose, had it been true that these masses could have availed them any thing. It was therefore equivalent to a declaration on the part of the government, that they did not believe in the existence of purgatory.

Shortly after Cromwell proceeded by his authority as vicar-general, to do away with many of the holidays, and to prohibit pilgrimages, images, and reliques; and he ordered that the incumbents of parishes should

[k] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

set apart a portion of their income for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners, and the poor of their parish.

It may be easily conceived with what disposition the adherents of the ancient faith looked on all these proceedings, and the evil eye with which they regarded Cromwell, as the chief cause of them. Several insurrections were the consequence, which were however put down without much difficulty; and Henry, more firmly established in his authority by these unsuccessful attempts, and impelled by his avarice, and the wants occasioned by his profuse extravagance, determined on suppressing the rest of the monasteries. This was accomplished soon after; partly by threats and intimidation, and partly by bribes and fair words. Men saw it was useless to contend against the king, and most of the charters were surrendered to him on one pretence or another. Some were not sorry to thus get rid of vows which they had probably repented of making, and many with foresight had busied themselves in securing property to maintain them, when the dissolution should take place.

Thus altogether, at different times were suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries, besides ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hospitals; the revenue of the whole amounting to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds.[1]

Cromwell, notwithstanding his great moderation

[1] Herbert—Speed.

and prudent conduct, had by his sudden rise, and his being the chief mover in these matters, made himself numerous enemies. And as he was obliged by reason of the king's impetuous temper, to acquiesce in what was contrary to his sentiments, he was looked on with a feeling of distrust even by the reformers.

In the mean time the new religion had been further encouraged by the result of the resolution of the convocation, which met in 1536. They had after some debate decided on certain articles of faith; and although the majority of the clergy were against the reformed opinions, yet were they so awed by the new power assumed by the king, and influenced by Cromwell, Cranmer and others, that they conceded in these articles, in many important points, to the reformers. In fact there was so much concession on both sides, that when the articles were signed, there was hardly any who really believed the whole of them. The reform went too far for the Romanists, and not far enough for those of the new doctrines.

But the Act of the Six Articles,[m] which passed in 1540, and which they justly enough termed "the "bloody bill," as much depressed the cause of the reformers. As a specimen of its enactments, the grand doctrine of the real presence was maintained in the first article; and death by burning, and the same forfeiture as in cases of treason, were the penalties: and lest persons might be compelled by fear to abjure, that escape was taken away from them, for no recantation was allowed.

[m] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

And yet at the same time, with the other hand, as if not to let the Romanists consider themselves too secure, the Bible was given to the people to read, by the king's command.

Cromwell, as far as he could, sheltered the protestants from the operation of this act; but as he did not live long after, they were soon exposed to all its fury.

It is said by some historians, that the king's dislike to Queen Anne of Cleves, whose marriage Cromwell had been the chief promoter of, made him conceive a resentment against Cromwell, which, with his usual impetuosity he waited not for a just cause to gratify; but availing himself of his servile parliament, the tool of his passions, he caused a bill of attainder to be passed against Cromwell, and accordingly on the 28th of July, he was brought to the scaffold and beheaded.

The charges against him were those of heresy and treason; but the proofs were so glaringly defective and absurd, that even the parliament hesitated to condemn him, but fear and influence made them consent.

By his death, as there was no one in the council of sufficient ability or interest to take the part of the reformers, the Duke of Norfolk and his party gradually gained the ground in the king's councils, which they had before lost. The consequence was, as we shall find, that the reformed religion met with no support, but, on the contrary, with much opposition, towards the latter end of Henry's reign. Had Cromwell lived much longer, and the reformed doctrines

gone on progressively gaining ground, it is not improbable but that Coverdale might have returned from his exile, to enjoy, in his native country, the fruits of his endeavours to awaken her from the superstitious ceremonies, and ignorant credulity, into which she had fallen.

CHAPTER IX.

PROCLAMATION OF THE KING, COMMANDING THE BIBLE TO BE SET UP IN THE CHURCHES, CARELESSLY OBEYED.—COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE, WITH A VIEW PROBABLY TO HAVE THEM CALLED IN. — ACT LIMITING THE READING OF THE BIBLE TO CERTAIN CLASSES. — THE KING JUSTIFIES THE PASSING OF THIS ACT IN THE "ERUDITION OF ANY CHRISTIAN MAN." — PROCLAMATION PROHIBITING SEVERAL TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE, AND OTHER WORKS OF THE REFORMERS. — DECLINE OF THAT PARTY TOWARDS THE LATTER END OF HENRY'S REIGN.

BEFORE we proceed to follow Coverdale's movements abroad, we will shortly mention the most important matters, with regard to the promulgation of the Bible, that occurred before the accession of King Edward.

On the 6th of May, 1541, the king published a proclamation,[a] which recited that the king had sent

[a] Regist. Bonner, fol. 21.—MS. Cott. Cleop. E. v. fol. 337. Strype, in his life of Cranmer, p. 84, loosely states this proclamation to be made in 1540, and Lewis and Newcome and others follow him; but we have not been able to ascertain the existence of any prior proclamation in 1540, and this present one beyond a doubt was printed in 1541. See the title of it, in the description of Grafton's books, in Dibd. Typ. Ant.

forth certain injunctions, commanding the Bible to be set up in every parish church, to the intent that every of the king's majesty's loving subjects, minding to read therein, might by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable omnipotent power, promise, justice, mercy, and goodness of Almighty God; but also learn to observe thereby God's commandments, and to obey their sovereign lord and high powers, and to exercise godly charity, and to use themselves according to their vocations in a pure and sincere Christian life, without murmur or grudging:

And then strictly enjoined, that none should read the said Bibles with loud and high voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church; nor that any of his lay subjects, reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained, but only reverently read the same for their own edification.

It further recited, moreover, that his highness had been informed that, notwithstanding his former injunctions in that behalf, there were many parish churches still without Bibles, at which his highness marvelled not a little; and then enjoined, that a Bible should be speedily procured for every parish church, under penalty of a fine of 40*s.* for every month after All Saints' day then next, that they should be without one. And by the same proclamation, the price of the Bibles, of the largest volume, was fixed at 12*s.* bound, and 10*s.* unbound.

About this time, Bonner set up six of the Bibles allowed by Tonstal and Heath, in the church of St. Paul's,[b] accompanied with the following injunctions to those that read them:[c]—

"That whosoever came hither to read, should pre-
"pare himself to be edified and made better thereby:
"that he should join thereunto his readiness to obey
"the king's injunctions made in that behalf: that he
"bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, re-
"verence, and quiet behaviour: that there should be
"no such number meet together as to make a multi-
"tude: that no exposition be made thereupon, but
"what is declared in the book itself: and that it be
"not read with noise in time of divine service, or that
"any disputation or contention be used at it."

A writer of that period, in a little tract he addressed to his majesty,[d] informs us how negligently the king's injunctions were performed, with regard to the setting up the Bibles in the parish churches. "When your "highness," says he, "gave commandment that the "bishops should see that there were in every parish "church one Bible, at the least, set at liberty; so that "every man might freely come to it and read therein "such things as should be for his consolation: many "would pluck it either into the quire, or else into "some pew, where poor men durst not presume to

[b] Coll. Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 184.

[c] Stry. Cranm. p. 84. Newcome classes these injunctions under the year 1540.

[d] Entitled 'The Supplication of the poor Commons." A.D. 1546. Fox's Acts and Monuments, quoted by Lewis, p. 143.

" come: yea there was no small number of churches " that had no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with " the withholding it from the poor of their own " parishes, they never rested till they had a com- " mandment from your highness, that no man of what " degree soever he were, should read the Bible in the " time of God's service."

Not a great while after Cromwell's death, complaint was again made to the king, of false interpretations in the Scripture, and of the marks and hands annexed to the text, and even of the preface in Cranmer's Bibles. Grafton was sent for, and first of all charged with printing Matthew's Bible; " but he " being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself " in all things." Then he was asked, what notes he had purposed to make to the great Bible. And he said he knew of none, for his purpose was to have engaged learned men to make them; but that when he perceived the king's majesty, and his clergy, not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But these excuses did not prevent him from being committed to the Fleet; from whence he was let out at the end of six weeks, on entering into a bond not to print or sell any more Bibles, until the king and clergy should have agreed on a translation.[e]

Probably alluding to this time, the author of the tract before quoted from,[f] says: " That the poor " Commons heard say, that the bishops proffered his

[e] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 516.
[f] " The Supplication of the poor Commons."

" highness, that if he would please to call in the Bible " again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated " in all parts, they would oversee it, and within seven " years set it forth again; but that if they might have " gotten in the Bible for seven years, they could have " trusted, that by that time, either the king would " have been dead, or the Bible forgotten, or they " themselves out of his highness's reach, so that he " should not have had like power over them as he " had now."

" When," continues this writer, " his majesty " appointed two of the bishops (Tonstal, bishop of " Durham, and Heath, bishop of Rochester,) to over- " look the translation of the Bible, they said they had " done his highness's commandments therein, yea, " they set their hands thereunto. But when they " saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other " side, they denied it, and said they never meddled " therewith, and caused the printer to take out their " names, which were erst set before the Bible to " certify all men, that they had diligently perused it, " according as the king had commanded." " Nay," " he adds, " that it was reported that Thomas Crom- " well, late earl of Essex, was the chief doer or prin- " cipal actor in authorizing the English Bible, and " not the king, but as led by him; and that therefore " it was a common reflection made on it, that the " Bible was of a traitor's setting forth, and not of the " king's."

On the 12th of March, 1542, the king " for certain causes convenient," granted to one Antony Marlar,

haberdasher of London, the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible, for the space of four years, next ensuing the date of his letters.[g] This Marlar had made the king a present of a copy of the edition of Cranmer's Bible, printed in 1540. It was a most magnificent gift, printed on vellum, and richly illuminated.[h]

As a return probably for it, the above privilege was granted to him; but it does not appear that he derived any advantage from it, as he neither printed any Bible himself, nor caused any to be printed. Perhaps it was only another way, under the pretext of an exclusive privilege, of prohibiting any more Bibles from being printed.

In the beginning of the year 1542, the convocation of the province of Canterbury met, and a review of the translation of the Scriptures was there proposed. However, on one pretence or another, they delayed it so long, that at last Cranmer told them, that it would be taken out of their hands, and sent to the universities. To this they made much objection, alleging that matters were carried there by a majority of young men of immature judgment. The matter seems here to have dropped.[i]

Complaints were made to the parliament, which met on the 22nd of January, in the following year, "that the liberty granted to the people in having in "their hands, the books of the Old and New Testa-

[g] Pat. 33. Hen. 8. p. 7. m. 2. Rym. Fœd.

[h] It is now in the Brit. Mus. [i] Coll. Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 185.

" ment, had been much abused by many false glosses " and interpretations, which were made upon them, " tending to the seducing of the people, especially " of the younger sort, and the raising of sedition " within the realm." [k]

Accordingly an act was passed,[l] by which it was recited, that notwithstanding his majesty had allowed them to have the New and Old Testament in their hands; yet that many seditious people, arrogant and ignorant persons, intending to subvert the true knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures, " had " taken upon them not only to preach, teach, declare, " and set forth the same by words, sermons, disputa- " tions, and arguments; but also by printed books, " printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs, and other " fantasies, subtilely and craftily instructing his high- " ness's people, and specially the youth of this his " realm, untruly and otherwise than the Scripture " ought or should be taught, declared, or expounded, " and contrary to the very sincere and godly meaning " of the same: whereupon diversity of opinions, " sayings, variances, arguments, tumults, and schisms " had sprung and risen among his said subjects " within this his realm."

It was therefore enacted, that all such books, &c. and " all manner of books of the Old and New Tes- " tament in English, being of the crafty, false, and " untrue translation of Tyndal," and all books con-

[k] Johnson, Hist. Transl. Bible, p. 51.
[l] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

trary to the doctrines set forth, or to be set forth by the king, should be abolished, on pain of the severe punishment therein provided.

" Provided always that the Bibles and New Tes-
" taments in English not being of Tyndal's transla-
" tion, should stand in force and not be comprised
" in this abolution;" but that all annotations or preambles therein should be cut off or blotted out, except summaries and chapters."

It was also enacted that no person should openly read or teach the Scriptures: with a proviso, that this should not extend to prohibit the reading the Scriptures in the private family of any nobleman, gentleman, or merchant, being householders.

" And where the king's majesty of his most
" gracious and blessed disposition had theretofore
" caused to be set forth the Bible and New Testament
" in the English tongue to be read by his loving sub-
" jects, to the intent that they might the better know
" their duty to Almighty God and to his Majesty,
" and also increase in virtue for the wealth of their
" souls; albeit his Majesty's said most godly purpose
" and intent had taken good effect amongst a great
" multitude of his subjects, and especially amongst
" the highest and most honest sort, according to his
" highness's good expectation thereof; yet forasmuch
" as his highness perceived that a great multitude of
" his said subjects, most specially of the lower sort,
" had so abused the same, that they had thereby

" This in part accounts for the many mutilated copies that are to be found in our collections.

"grown and increased in divers naughty and erroneous "opinions, and by occasion thereof fallen in great "division and dissension among themselves, to the "great unquietness of this realm and other his Majesty's "dominions." It was therefore further enacted "that "no women, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, "serving-men (of the degree of yeomen or under), "husbandmen, nor labourers, should read, to them-"selves or any other, privately or openly, the Bible "or New Testament in English:" proviso that all other persons, than those just named, and every noble-woman and gentlewoman might read it privately.

Power was also given to the king, to alter this act at his pleasure.

Strype tells us, that Cranmer strongly opposed the passing of this act; and that notwithstanding all the efforts of the bishop of Winchester and his party, who wished to prevent every one from reading the Scripture, he obtained "by his persuasion with the "King and the Lords," that the above exceptions in the case of the higher classes should be made.* And the arguments in favour of this were, that their minds were better adapted by education to comprehend the difficulties of the Scripture, and that they had also more leisure and opportunity, if doubts should arise in their minds, to solve them by conferring with learned persons, than the common people, who if they read what they could not understand, had no time nor learning sufficient to clear up the difficulty. "And

* Stry. Cranm. p. 99.

"the king," says Strype,* "was the rather inclined to "this, because he being now to go abroad, upon a "weighty expedition, thought it convenient to leave "his subjects at home as easy as might be."

To justify in some measure the passing of this act, the king thus speaks to his subjects in the preface to a book called "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition "for any Christen man," published soon after the passing of this act, and "sette furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande, &c."

"'We by the helpe of god and his worde, haue "trauayled to purge and clense our realme from the "apparant enormities of superstition, wherein by "openyng of goddes trueth, with settyng furth and "publishyng of the scriptures, our labours (thankes "be to god) haue not ben void and frustrat.' But "considering that God hath ordered some sort of "men to teach other, and some to be taught: and, "that for the one part which should teach other, is "necessary, knowlege, by true exposition of the "Scriptures according to the apostolical doctrine re-"ceived and maintained from the beginning; and "'the hauing, reading, and studyinge of holy scrip-"ture, is not onely conuenient, but also necessary: "But for the other part of the churche ordeined to "be taught, it ought to be demed certainly that the "readyng of the olde and new testament is not so "necessary for al those folkes, that of duty they ought "and be bound to read it, but as the prince and the

* Life of Cranm. p. 99.

" policy of the realme shal thinke conuenient, so " to be tollerated or taken from it. Consonant " whervnto the politike law of our realme hath now " restrained it from a great meyny, esteming it suffi- " cient for those so restrained, to here & truly bere " away the doctrin of scripture taught by the preach- " ers, and so imprint the lessons of the same, that " they may obserue and kepe them inwardly in their " hart, and as occasion serueth, expresse them in " their dedes outwardly.'"

It would appear, however, that the king, do what he would, could not prevent the people from arguing about matters of religion. In a speech he made to his parliament in person,[p] on the occasion of his proroguing them on the 24th of December, 1545, he says: " And although you be permitted to reade holy " scripture, and to haue the worde of God in your " mother toungue, you must vnderstande that it is " licensed you so to doo, onely to informe your awne " conscience, and to instruct your childrē and famely, " & not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng and " a tauntyng stocke against Priestes and Preachers " (as many light persones do.) I am very sory to " knowe and here, how unreuerently that moste pre- " cious iuell the worde of God, is disputed, rimed, " song, and iangeled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, " cōtrary to the true meanyng and doctryne of the same. " And yet I am euen asmuche sory, that the readers of " the same, folow it in dooyng so faintly and coldly."

[p] Halle's Chron. fol. 261, b. ed. 1548.

On the 6th of July, 1546, the king issued his proclamation,[1] in which, after reciting that the king, "understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's scripture, divers "lewd and evill disposed persons had taken upon "them to utter and sowe abroad, by bookes imprinted "in the English tongue, sundrie pernicious and detestable errours and heresies; not onely contrary to "the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the "true sense of God's Law and his Word: by reason "whereof certaine men of late, to the destruction of "their owne bodies and soules, and to the evill example "of others, had attempted arrogantly and maliciously "to impugne the Truth, and therewith trouble the "sober, quiet, and godly Religion, united and established under the King's majestie in this his Realme:"

It was commanded, that no one should import, buy, sell, or keep the text of the New Testament of Tyndal's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than was permitted by act of parliament, made in the 34th and 35th years of his Majesty's reign; nor should import, buy, &c. "any manner of books "printed or written in the English tongue, which "were or should be set forth in the names of Frith, "Tyndal, Wicliff, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Coverdale, "Turner, Tracy, or any of them, or any other "book or books, containing matter contrarie to the

[1] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 587.—Wilk. Conc. M. B. vol. iv. p. 1.—See also the title of this proclamation in the account of Berthelet's Works, in Dibd. Typ. Ant. vol. iii.

" said Act made in the yere 34 or 35;" but should deliver up the same; and no officer should inquire who it was that delivered them up, but only burn them directly. The penalty for any one acting in contravention to the above proclamation, was, to suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at his Majesty's will and pleasure, and likewise such fine and imprisonment, as his Majesty or four of his council should determine.

And furthermore it was strictly forbidden on the pains aforesaid, that any one should bring in English books, concerning any matter of Christian religion, from abroad, without his Majesty's license.

It would appear that some men considered, or feigned to consider, this proclamation as not extending to prohibit the Bible, or the Old Testament, or parts of it translated by the above-named reformers, but literally only the New Testament. For instance, the author of "the Supplication of the Poor Commons," says concerning this proclamation, speaking of the bishops; "But when the king had devised a procla- "mation for the burning of certain translations of "the New Testament, they were so bold as to burn "the whole Bible, because it was of those men's "translations."[r]

Thus may we see how the reformed religion towards the latter end of Henry's reign, gradually lost the ground which it had before gained; as far, we mean, as the permission to publish matters of religion went.

[r] Fox's Acts and Monuments, quoted in Lewis's Trans. Bible, p. 143.

The Romanists at length acquired an undisputed ascendancy in the councils of the king. Working on the easy temper of Henry, by continual solicitations and artful persuasions, they prevailed on that monarch to have the Bible prohibited to all the common people, that is to say, to the nation at large; and not content with that, they procured all the translations, that were within the means of ordinary persons, to be called in and forbidden, and also all religious books of what kind soever, on pain of an indefinite punishment.

The grand motive that seems to have actuated Henry, on all occasions, with respect to the publication of the Bible, was a jealousy of his own power being interfered with. It was only necessary to suggest to that irritable monarch that the people by reading the Bible would be led to religious disputes, and from thence to a defiance of the temporal authorities; and to instance the disturbances that had taken place in Germany on that account, as what were likely to be the consequences of a similar indulgence in England; and he was willing at once to put a stop to the reading of the Bible. Then came the opposite party, and assured him that these were interested suggestions on the part of the Romanists, who were aware that if the people once got the Bible to read, they would no longer pay that unlimited obedience which they had hitherto done, to the ecclesiastical power (sometimes even in opposition to the temporal); but they would pay it where they would find by the scripture that alone it was due, namely, to their sovereign lord and king: and he was then as willing to set it forth.

This is the only true reason for that vacillating conduct which characterised Henry's reign in this respect. If we are to look at his own prepossessions on one side or the other, it seems not improbable that he was rather favourable to its publication than otherwise. Towards the latter part of his reign, the Romanists, however, got the ascendancy; and they had not much difficulty in gaining their object with a king, who, as he approached his grave, was more excitable and more violent than ever.

It is very likely that the Bibles were removed from most of the churches; for as the common people might not read them, and the better classes were supposed to be able to have them of their own, there was no longer any use for them: and this seems the more probable, inasmuch as the first act of Edward's government on his accession, was to order that a Bible of the largest volume should be set up in every church; which, it is almost unnecessary to observe, would hardly have been done, had they been already there: although it is true that it might only have reference to a few churches, which perhaps had not complied with the former injunctions in the preceding reign. But although the Romanists did at last procure the Bible to be prohibited to the lower classes, they could not prevent what had already been done: the people had read it, and the subsequent prohibitions, even in all their severity, could not hinder some from still keeping copies of it. They had, therefore, only covered over the fire, which would break forth with redoubled strength, the moment an opening presented itself.

CHAPTER X.

ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE SIXTH. — FAVOURABLE TO REFORMED DOCTRINES. — COVERDALE, WHO HAD RESIDED IN GERMANY, COMES OVER TO ENGLAND. — IS MADE ALMONER TO THE DOWAGER QUEEN. — ACCOMPANIES LORD RUSSELL IN HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE REBELS, AND PREACHES IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND. — IS MADE COADJUTOR TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER, AND AFTERWARDS SUCCEEDS TO THAT SEE. — IS NAMED ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO EXAMINE AND SEARCH AFTER THE ANABAPTISTS AND THE CONTEMNERS OF THE COMMON PRAYER, AND IS ALSO JOINED IN THE COMMISSION TO REVISE THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS. — HIS FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF HIS EPISCOPAL FUNCTIONS.

On king Henry's death, it was very soon evident what accession of strength, the reformers had gained by that event.

Somerset, who in contravention to the king's will had assumed the office of protector, much favoured the new opinions in religion; and he took care that all those who were employed in the instruction, and about the person of the young king, should be of the same way of thinking as himself. The young prince showed a great disposition for learning, particularly

in all theological matters, and he was soon imbued deeply with the new religious principles.

The lord chancellor, Wriothesly, afterwards earl of Southampton, was the only one in the council of ability or inclination to oppose Somerset; but an imprudent step that he made, shortly gave Somerset the mastery over him.

Somerset was besides supported by Cranmer; and as all the measures he took were with the latter's advice and council, he was the less likely by any precipitate or ill-timed proceeding to hurt the cause; since the prudence and moderation of that excellent prelate made him averse to any thing of violent change, well judging that such would never be so lasting, as one that should be brought about gradually, and be moderate in its provisions.

The consequence was, that one by one, the different points were settled and ascertained; and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England.[a]

And though Somerset was afterwards attainted and disgraced, to the great joy of the enemies of the new tenets, they gained little by the change; as Warwick, who led the council in his place, not having any great leaning either way, was determined to follow whichever was most to his interest: and finding that the young king was deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth of the new doctrines, he soon manifested his intention of countenancing them.

[a] Hume, ch. xxxiv.

He accordingly put such slight upon the earl of Southampton, who had assisted him in the overthrow of Somerset, that the latter retired in disgust from the council; and Warwick, unopposed, proceeded in the same line of conduct, as far as religion was concerned, which Somerset had pursued.

But now to return to Coverdale. When the progress of the Bible was stopped at Paris, he went into Germany, and for some time resided at Tubingen, which university conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.[b] He had of course no settled means of support, but what his own exertions could procure: and we are told that he subsisted, partly, by the money he received for his labours in translating and correcting the Scripture; partly, by teaching young children; and partly, by the liberality of one who, as long as he lived, was always his good friend, the Lord Cromwell.[c] We may reasonably suppose that he had now obtained some fame abroad, among the Protestant princes, for his zeal in the study of the holy writings through so many difficulties; and that many befriended a man so learned and so pious.

He understood perfectly well, we are told, the Dutch tongue;[d] and the duke of Deux-Ponts, therefore, presented him to the benefice of Bergzabern, a town in his duchy, three leagues south-west of Lan-

[b] Godwin, de Præsul. p. 476. ed. 1616. [c] Hoker. Catal. Bps. Exon.

[d] The writers of that period by this term, sometimes meant the High Dutch, or German, and sometimes the Low Dutch, or what we now exclusively term Dutch.

dau.[e] There he continued, till the death of Henry the Eighth, and the accession of Edward the Sixth, gave those of the reformed religion once more the ascendancy in the government.

While he was abroad at this time, but at what exact period has not been ascertained, he married one of two sisters, of which his friend, Macchabæus Alpinus,[f] a Scotchman by birth, but filling a high station in Denmark, married the other.[g] Her Christian name alone is known, Elizabeth. She was, says a contemporary of his,[h] "a most sober, chast, and "godlie matrone." Whether he had ever any children by her, how long she lived, and when she died, are questions that cannot be answered. She was alive during the time of his filling the see of Exeter, but after that time no further mention is made of her. Strype says that "she was born in those parts," speaking of Germany and Denmark;[i] but on what authority, except that of probability, this assertion is grounded, we have not been able to discover.

It may not be amiss to observe in what sort of estimation Coverdale was held at this time. Bale, who frequented the Sophisters' school at Cambridge, in company with Barnes, has given us an account of Coverdale, in his lives of illustrious writers, which may well be regarded as a faithful one, coming as it

[e] Hoker. Catal. Bps. Exon. See also a letter from Martyr to Bullinger, printed in Burnet's Hist. of Reform.

[f] This name unlatinized, we conjecture would be M'Alpine.

[g] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 182.

[h] Hoker. Catal. Bps. Exon. [i] Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 464.

does from a person who, if he had not opportunities of seeing Coverdale himself, was intimate with those who knew him perfectly. He says that "as a young "man, he was always of a most friendly and open "disposition, and of a most gentle spirit. Unlike "others, he gave himself wholly up to propagating "the truth of Christ's gospel, and manifesting its "glory. And this," he says, "clearly appears in his "version of the Bible, in which he spent no fruit-"less labour, to the great profit of the Christian "common weal. The Spirit of God which was pre-"sent in all for the ministry of his word, to restrain "the wickedness of the times, and which in some "was like a powerful wind, overturning rocks and "mountains, was in him even as a gentle breath of "air, infusing vigour into irresolute and wavering "minds. For his style," he adds, "is sweet and "smooth: it flows gently along; it moves, in-"structs, and delights one."[k] After an enumeration of his works, he says, "and many other things he "published, full of learning and piety." He then states, that he returned to his country after vii.[l] years' exile, "poor in this world, but rich in the grace of "Christ."

It was no wonder, then, such being the reputation in which he stood, that on his return to England, he was graciously received at court, and appointed by the queen Catherine to be her almoner.[m] This lady

[k] De Script. Illust. cent. 5. ed. 1548.

[l] This is a misprint for "xvii." years.

[m] MS. Coll. of Arms. I. 15. F. 98, quoted in Biogr. Brit.

was much attached to the reformed doctrines, and her attendants consisted of the most celebrated for learning and piety of the reformed party. Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, in Elizabeth's time, was asked by one of his friends, why he abode so much at court; and he answered by pointing out such men as Coverdale, Huiccius,[a] and Aylmer, with whom he associated there, and exclaimed, "O Dii! "viros quos nomino!"[e]

In September, 1548, the queen died at Sudley Castle, in Gloucestershire, the seat of her third husband, Lord Seymour, of Sudley, whom she married so soon after Henry the Eighth's death, that Hume remarks, that had she become immediately pregnant therefrom, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged.[f] Coverdale, we are told, officiated at her funeral, in the chapel belonging to the castle, and preached a sermon on the occasion. In it he openly warned his auditors, "that there "shulde none there thinke, seye, nor spread abrode, "that the offeringe which was there don, was don "anye thing to proffytt the deade, but for the poore "onlye; and also the lights which were caried and "stode abowte the corps, were for the honnour of "the parson, and for none other entente nor pur-"pose."[g]

[a] Or "Huic," as Strype calls him. He was physician to king Henry, and afterwards to the queen dowager, and a man of learning.

[e] Stry. Ann. of Reform. vol. ii. p. 234.

[f] Hist. of Engl. ch. xxxiv.

[g] MS. Coll. of Arms, I. 15. F. 98.

On the breaking up of the queen's establishment, on her decease, Coverdale came to London.

On the 27th of April, in the following year, several Anabaptists, says Stow,[r] were tried before the archbishop of Canterbury, Thurlsby, bishop of Westminster, and others, in our Lady chapel of St. Paul's church, in London; and on the Sunday after their next meeting, being Low Sunday, Myles Coverdale preached at Paul's Cross, and one of the above-mentioned Anabaptists, named Champenes, did penance there.

About this time several insurrections, arising chiefly from the distressed state of the lower classes, in consequence of the conversion of arable land into pasture,[s] broke out in different parts of the kingdom. They were almost all quelled without difficulty, except that which sprung up in Devonshire (in July); and this was the more formidable, inasmuch as the priests, who joined in it, had the address to mix up religious prejudices and grievances with their other demands.

The king's council, at the same time that they took measures to put the insurrection down by force of arms, were determined not to omit any milder means of effecting the same purpose. When, therefore, they sent Lord Russell against the rebels, they ap-

[r] Chron. p. 596. ed. 1631. See Note K.

[s] A writer of that period complains bitterly, that men should starve, in order that sheep should feed. Even in Sir Thomas More's time, this was practised to so great an extent, that he says in his Utopia, that a sheep in England had become a more ravenous animal than a lion or a wolf; for it devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

pointed Coverdale and others, who were to attend him, and who, by sober exhortations, grounded on God's word, (which the people were little acquainted with,) were to incline them to obedience and keep them in their duty towards their prince.[t]

The letters from the council to the preachers, requiring them to attend Lord Russell's expedition, informed them, that though what the council required was but what their duty owed; yet the council would see that they should be requited for their services in this affair.[u]

This mission, it would seem, was a dangerous one; for a writer of a later period,[v] after maintaining that those of the reformed opinions were as loyal, if not more so, than other men, says: "For proffe hereoff, "yff you call to remembrance, who hazardid his liffe "with that olde, Honorable Erle off Bedford when "as he was sent to subdue the popishe rebells off the "weste, yow shall finde that none off the clergie "were hastie to take that seruice in hande, but onely "olde father Couerdale."

Strype mentions Coverdale as preaching in different parts of the West, and particularly that he made a thanksgiving sermon after the victory.[w]

We find the following note in the register-book of the council, king Edw. VI. MS. Kennet:—"Anno "1550, 20 Julii. Ordered 40 lb to be given to

[t] Stry. Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 168.
[u] MSS. Inner Temple Libr. No. 538, vol. 47.
[v] Troubles at Frankfort, p. 196. (1575).
[w] Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 169.

" Myles Coverdale, preacher, as a reward from the " King."[x]

The council, in their wish for an uniformity in religion, had determined to put down all Anabaptists and others, who would not conform to the rites and ceremonies of church worship, as settled and determined on in the book of common prayer; and as the ecclesiastical courts were not thought sufficient for this purpose, a special commission had been issued on the 12th of April, 1549, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, authorizing them to search after and examine all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer. They were to reclaim them if possible, to impose penance on them; or if they were obstinate, to imprison and excommunicate them, and give them over to the secular power. In their proceedings they were not bound by the ordinary forms of trial, and any statutes or acts that might restrain them in the execution of the commission, were to be considered as of no effect with regard to them.[y]

It is painful to see how zeal will sometimes lead even good men to cruelties in matters of religion; for under this commission, a woman, named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who differed from what was considered the orthodox belief with regard to the incarnation of our Saviour, was condemned to the flames;[z] and when the young king Edward refused

[x] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 762. n. 6. Bliss's edition.
[y] Rym. Fœd. [z] Stry. Cranm. p. 181.—Burnet.

to sign the warrant, that mild and excellent man, Cranmer, undertook to persuade him to do it. This, after some importunity, he succeeded in; the king, however, telling him that if any wrong were done, the fault would be entirely his.

This commission was renewed, or rather a fresh one given out, on the 18th of January, 1551,[a] and Coverdale was named as one of the commissioners. Under this latter commission another victim was burnt, a Dutchman, by name Van Parre, or Van Paris, for the heresy which is now called arianism.[b] Hume expresses in strong language his sense of these proceedings, which he says arose solely from the incurable bigotry of theologians.[c]

Whether Coverdale took an active part or not, as one of these commissioners, we cannot ascertain; but we think we may fairly presume he did not, judging from his character, and from the whole tenor of his life, which would necessarily point him out as one of the last men who would put a fellow-creature to a painful and lingering death, merely because he could not convert him to his own way of thinking, on some of the most confessedly obscure and perplexing points of religion.

On the 7th of March, 1551,[d] Lord Wentworth, who had been lord chamberlain to the king, was buried at Westminster in an honourable manner, and Coverdale preached the funeral sermon.

[a] Rym. Fœd.—Wilk. Conc. [b] Stry. Cranm. p. 181.—Burnet.
[c] Hist. of Engl. ch. xxxiv.
[d] Strype says in 1550, but he evidently means the old style.

Coverdale had given so much satisfaction during the time he was down in the west, that when a coadjutor was wanted for Veyzy, bishop of Exeter, he was appointed to that office. Veyzy was old, seldom resided in his diocese, and was moreover opposed to all the changes in religion that had taken place. Now this diocese having been the seat of a rebellion, which was indeed quelled, but which might again break forth from the heated and disaffected state of the common people worked upon by the priests; some wise, active, and bold person seemed necessary to inspect the clergy, check disorder, and, by vigorous and prudent measures, restore all to peacefulness and obedience.

Veyzy was accordingly prevailed on, partly by menaces (as it was afterwards said),[e] and partly by allowing him to dispose of large portions of the temporalities of the see, to resign, on the pretext of old age; and Coverdale was appointed bishop in his stead.

Coverdale had been spoken of as the person destined to fill this bishoprick, as early as the June in the preceding year; as we may learn from a letter addressed by P. Martyr, who was then staying at Oxford, to his friend Bullenger;[f] and he adds this commendation of our bishop, which we cannot omit to give, coming as it does from a quarter in which

[e] It was alleged that he was threatened to be proceeded against for taking a part in the rebellion; but of his having done so, there seems to be no proof.

[f] Printed in Burnet's Hist. Reform.

praise was so valuable,—" laudari ab illo laudato " viro ;"—" that he thought nothing could tend more to the restoring true religion in the country, than if men like Coverdale were generally intrusted with the administration of the church."

Hoker, speaking of Veyzy, says, that " of xxii. " Lordships and mannors, which his predecessors had, " and left vnto him, of a goodlie yeerelie reuenewe, " he left but three, and them also leased out. And " where he found xiiii. houses well furnished, he left " onelie one house bare, and without furniture, and " yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and " by these meanes, this Bishoprike, which sometimes " was counted one of the best, is now become in tem- " porall lands, one of the meanest: and a place scarse " left for the Bishop to laie and rest his hed in."[s]

This bishoprick had been estimated in 1534 to be of the clear annual value of £1566 14*s.* 7½*d.*; and it was now diminished to £500 a-year only. The alienations that Veyzy had made were obliged to be connived at, or rather expressly allowed, in order to induce him to give up the bishoprick quietly; and Coverdale, who had no preferment, and was not in very good circumstances, had no objection to the bishoprick, as it may well be supposed, merely because the income was reduced from what it formerly had been.

The king nominated Coverdale to the see of Exeter

[s] Catal. Bps. Exon.

on the 14th of August, 1551. On the following day he directed his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, informing him that he had done so, and desiring the archbishop to consecrate him, according to custom.

Strype says, that although now bishop elect of Exeter, he had to wait at court, in order to manage two matters: the one, that being a poor man the king would excuse him his first-fruits; and the other, the doing his homage. "But such at that "time were the great and urgent affairs of the state, "or the secret hinderers of the gospel, that he found "nothing but delays; so that he was forced to "apply himself unto his friend the archbishop, to "forward his business; who forthwith sent his "letters to secretary Cecil, making Coverdale him-"self the bearer, intreating him to use his influence "to get this bishop dispatched, and that with speed; "urging this for his reason (becoming his paternal "care over his province); that so he might without "further delay go down into the western parts, "which had great need of him; and also because he "was minded, on the 30th of August, to consecrate "him and the bishop of Rochester (Scory) according "to the king's mandate."[a]

This matter being at last accomplished, Coverdale was, on the 30th of August, 1551, consecrated bishop of Exeter, at Croydon, by archbishop Cranmer,

[a] Stry. Cranm. p. 267.

assisted by Nicolas, bishop of London, and John, suffragan of Bedford, "all with their surplices & "copes, & Coverdale so habited also."[i]

In September, he had his license of preaching; and on the 10th of the same month, he had a license for himself and Elizabeth his wife, and any five or six guests at his table, to eat meat on the fast days.[k]

It would appear from a hint given by Castellio, in his dedication to king Edward of his translation of the Bible into Latin, that Bucer's death in this year put a stop to a design which that prince had, of having the English translation of the Bible reviewed and corrected; for which purpose, it would appear that he had actually appointed some learned men.[l] The year before (1550) Coverdale's Bible had been reprinted, and also two editions of his New Testament. The Bible was put forth again, with a reprinted title-page, almanac, &c., in 1553, and that was all the editions it ever had.[m]

And before we go any further, a singular mistake must be remarked, into which almost all those, who have in any way mentioned Coverdale, have fallen. In stating his promotion to the bishoprick, they say that it was made, as might be seen in the patent, "on account of his extraordinary knowledge in "divinity, and his unblemished character;"—"propter ejus singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam,

[i] Stry. Cranm. p. 271.

[k] Pat. 5 Edw. 6. p. 2. m. 35.—Rym. Fœd.

[l] Lewis's Transl. Bible, p. 180.—Strype also mentions this design.

[m] See, however, Art. 9 and 10 in the List of Works, post.

" quam mores honestos et probatissimos ;"—but they seem never to have suspected that these were mere words of course, and that the same were indiscriminately inserted in the other bishops' patents.

In 1549 it had been enacted, that the king might appoint certain spiritual and temporal men to revise the body of ecclesiastical laws, and compile a new set. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, 1551, a commission was issued out to this effect, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil, and eight common lawyers. Coverdale was one of the bishops named; and Strype tells us they worked hard at this task all the winter; and lest they should not have time enough (for the original power given to the king was only for three years), the parliament further enlarged the time; and the council then accordingly directed a new commission to be made out, on the 2nd of February, 1552, to those engaged in the work. " This," says Strype, " was a very noble enterprise, " and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent " archbishop; who with indefatigable pains had " been, both in this and the last king's reign, labour- " ing to bring this matter about: and he did his " part, for he brought the work to perfection. But," adds Strype, " partly through business, and partly " by enemies," the king's ratification of it was delayed." It would seem that the king's death afterwards occurring, this project fell to the ground.

And now to come to how Coverdale filled the sta-

" Life of Cranm. p. 271.

tion of bishop. We have the account of Hoker, who was a contemporary of his, and at one time chamberlain of the city of Exeter, and on the authenticity of which we may therefore fairly rely. And as he is the only one who gives us any mention of this part of the life of Coverdale, except the writer of a very meagre account, evidently borrowed from Hoker, in a MS. in the Harleian collection,[o] we shall make no apology for giving it at length, in Hoker's own words; particularly as it has apparently escaped the notice of all of his biographers.

He says, that shortly after the suppression of the rebellion in Devonshire, Coverdale was appointed bishop of Exeter, and "most worthilie did performe "the office committed vnto him, he preached con- "tinuallie vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most "commonlie twise in the weeke, in some one church "or other within this citie.[p] He was after the rate "of his liuings, a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie "sober in diet, godlie in life, freendlie to the godly, "liberall to the poore, and curteous to all men; void "of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnes, "and an enimie to all wickednesse, and wicked "men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he "would in no wise shrowd, or haue in his house and "companie. His wife a most sober, chast, and

[o] Cod. 6037.

[p] This would be reckoned very diligent now; but it was doubly so at that time, when, as we are informed by Edward's Injunctions, those who had the cure of a parish, were only obliged to preach a sermon twice in the year: and from its being mentioned in the Injunctions, it may be very reasonably inferred that some of them did not even do that.

" godlie matrone; his house and houshold, another " church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and " vertue. No one person being in his house, which " did not from time to time, giue an account of his " faith and religion, and also did liue accordinglie: " and as he had a care for the good successe in reli- " gion, so had he also for the direction of the gouern- " ment in ecclesiasticall causes: and bicause he was " not skilfull therein, neither would be hindered from " his godlie studies, and be incombred with such " worldlie matters, which neuerthelesse he would " haue be doone in all vprightnes, iustice, and equitie, " he sent to Oxford for a learned man, to be his Chan- " cellor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof, " he procured and obteined one Maister Robert " Weston, Doctor of the ciuill lawe, and afterwards " Lord Chancellor of Ireland,[r] vnto whom he com- " mitted his consistorie, and the whole charge of his " ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not " onelie all the fees therevnto apperteining, but also " lodged and found him, his wife, familie, horse, and " man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yeerelie " pension of xl. pound. And surelie the Bishop was " no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning " preaching, but this man also was as diligent and " seuere in dooing of his office, without reproch of " being affectionated or corrupted. And notwith- " standing this good man, now a blamelesse Bishop, " and liued most godlie and vertuous, yet the com-

[r] Dr. Weston's name does not occur in Le Neve's History of Chancellors.

"mon people, whose old bottels would receiue no "new wine, could not brooke nor digest him, for no "other cause, but bicause he was a preacher of the "Gospell, an enimie to papistrie, and a married "man. Manie deuises were accompted against him, "for his confusion; sometimes by false suggestions, "sometimes by open railings, and false libelles; "sometimes by secret backbitings; and in the end "practised his death by impoisoning, but by the pro-"uidence of God, the snares were broken and he "deliuered."[r]

Whilst Coverdale was thus attentive to the duties of his sacred character, he still found time for other occupations also. He attended every day regularly in the House of Lords, during the session of parliament. The first meeting of parliament, after his accession to the episcopal bench, was on the 23rd of January, 1552, and it continued sitting until the 15th of April, when it was dissolved. He was only absent two days during the whole time.[s] A new parliament was summoned, and opened on the 1st of March, 1553, and dissolved on the 31st of the same month. Coverdale attended every day, with the exception of one only.[t] This was the last parliament in Edward's reign.

Coverdale did not long enjoy his bishoprick; for in 1553, king Edward died, and Mary coming to the throne, the religion was again changed, and those

[r] Catal. Bps. Exon. (Lond. 1584.)
[s] Lords' Journals.
[t] Lords' Journals.

who had been deprived in the late reign were reinstated. Coverdale was turned out of the see of Exeter, and Veyzy restored; because, as it was said, he had before resigned only out of fear."

" Reg. Eccl. Cant. quoted in Stry. Cranm. p. 310.—Veyzy was reinstated 28th September, 1553. Le Neve's Fast. Eccl. Angl.

CHAPTER XI.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY. — COVERDALE DEPRIVED OF HIS BISHOPRICK—AND SUMMONED BEFORE THE COUNCIL. — INTERPOSITION OF THE KING OF DENMARK IN HIS FAVOUR. — HIS LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT. — COVERDALE, AFTER MUCH DELAY, PERMITTED TO DEPART INTO DENMARK — FROM WHENCE HE PROCEEDS INTO GERMANY. — IS REINSTATED IN HIS FORMER BENEFICE AT BERGZABERN. — AFTERWARDS JOINS THE CONGREGATION AT GENEVA.

POLYDORE VIRGIL tells us[a] that on the accession of Queen Mary, all ecclesiastics who were married and would not put away their wives, or who were at all opposed to papistical doctrines, were indiscriminately thrust out from their places. Some were clapped up in prison, under the pretence of preaching without licence, or of owing the queen for first-fruits, or tenths, or of using king Edward's service book, &c.; so that the prisons in London were full of them.[b]

On the 22nd of August, a letter was sent to Coverdale for his undelayed repair to the court, then being at

[a] Page iii. ed. 1570, copied verbatim in Godw. Ann. p. iii. ed. 1616.
[b] Stry. Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 140.

Richmond, and there to attend the council's pleasure. On the 31st, Coverdale appeared in obedience to this summons, and on the 1st of September he was directed to wait the council's further pleasure.[c]

It would not appear that Coverdale was committed to prison at all; or if he was, it was only for a short time, as Fox intimates that in April, 1554, he was about on sureties.[d]

Probably the council could get nothing to allege against him, except his difference of opinion on religious matters; and they had not then determined on the plan of persecution, which they afterwards adopted. But his danger on this account, was not the less imminent, the moment it should please his enemies to attack him.

A public disputation on certain articles of belief had been held at Oxford, in which Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley had been the champions for the reformers; but so little of fair play had been shown to them, that the rest of the imprisoned divines made a protestation against submitting to a disputation at the universities, except on certain conditions: because, as they alleged, among other things, "Some "of them having been in prison these eight or nine "months, where they had no books, no paper, no "pens, no ink, or convenient place for study, they "thought they should do evil thus suddenly to de-"scend into disputation." They however drew up a declaration of their belief to accompany the protesta-

[c] Minutes of Privy Counc. MSS. Cecil. vol. i. p. 177-8.

[d] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 181.

tion, which they all signed; amongst the rest, Coverdale, thus: "To these things abovesaid, do I Myles "Coverdale, consent and agree with these mine "afflicted brethren being prisoners, mine own hand."[e]

In the mean time, exertions were being made to procure Coverdale's pardon. Dr. J. Macchabæus Alpinus, who was related to Coverdale, as we have before mentioned, through his wife, prevailed with his sovereign, king Christian of Denmark, to write a letter to queen Mary, in Coverdale's behalf, which that monarch accordingly did, on the 25th of April, 1554.[f]

In this letter he stated, that he had heard that a certain Myles Coverdale, lately made bishop of Exeter in the last king's reign, was in great danger of his life; and that being assured he was perfectly innocent of the charges made against him, and being moreover importuned by one of his subjects, whom he much esteemed, (Dr. John Macchabæus, a man of great learning and piety, who was bound to this Coverdale, not less by the ties of relationship than by his excellent qualities), he could not but earnestly beg, relying firmly, as he did, on the good understanding which had always existed between their two kingdoms, that the queen, tendering as well her own character for clemency as his request, should pardon this man. But if, on account of the times, he could not conveniently be permitted to remain in England, that then he and his should be sent over in safety and

[e] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 102.
[f] Id. p. 182.

unharmed to Denmark. He would take this, he added, as a great favour, and if ever her majesty should require any thing from him, she might rely that he would do all in his power in return to oblige her.

He says very clearly in this letter, in the following passage, that he understands a participation in the recent rebellion to be the crime of which Coverdale was accused, but of which, he says, Macchabæus had testified to him that he was perfectly innocent: "Exposuit is (Macchabæus) nobis, in hac recenti "perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo "evenisse dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti "speramus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdalum, "nuper diœcesis Exoniensis, piæ lauditissimæque "memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis vestræ fratris, "consanguinei itidem nostri chariss. auctoritate con-"stitutum Episcopum, nunc in tristissimas calami-"tates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nulla atrocioris "delicti culpa, sed illa fatali temporum ruina, inci-"disse."

It seems curious that Christian should really think that this was the cause, when Coverdale was known to have been in trouble, as early as September, 1553, before the insurrection took place: but it might be merely a statagem to force the queen either to declare Coverdale innocent, or else to allege some ground of complaint against him. However this may be, Christian seems in this letter to have had great fears of Coverdale's safety, and almost intimates an apprehension that he may have been proceeded against, before this letter could reach her: "Movemur pro-

" fecto non temere illius viri[g] (cui suo merito imprimis
" benevolumus) commiseratione, ejusque maximè tes-
" timonio de captivi Antistitis innocentia atque inte-
" gritate: de qua quidem est, ut eo melius speremus,
" quod multis jam morte mulctatis sontibus, de ipso
" integrum adhuc Deus esse voluit."

Her majesty, it would appear in her answer to this letter, said that Coverdale was not charged with any such matter as that mentioned by king Christian, but only for a certain debt due to her treasury: that nevertheless Coverdale should feel the good effects of his majesty's interposition in his behalf: and as she desired nothing more than in this and every other transaction to cultivate the best possible understanding between their majesties and between their respective kingdoms; so his majesty need not fear but that on every just occasion, she would show the clemency and moderation which ought ever to accompany the sword of a monarch.

She, however, took no steps one way or the other with regard to Coverdale, and his friends began to be alarmed, lest this doubtful conduct might not forebode his destruction. They prevailed on Christian to write another letter to queen Mary in Coverdale's favour, dated the 24th of September.[h]

In this second letter, he says that it had given him much pleasure to hear that Coverdale was only charged with a debt to her majesty, and not with any graver offence; for he could not but feel certain

[g] Scilicet, "Macchabæi."

[h] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 182.

that her majesty would now readily comply with his request. He would not reiterate it to her; but he could only assure her how great the obligation would be, if Coverdale himself should be permitted to appear before him, to assure him in person of his safety. He further adds, that relying on her royal promise that his interposition should be of avail in Coverdale's favour, he had not hesitated to confidently assure his relations, who were sorrowing for him, of his perfect safety. He begged her majesty to believe that he never for an instant doubted her clemency, and that he felt sensibly the many flattering expressions, in which her majesty had conveyed her desire for the increase of their friendship and mutual good understanding, which, on his part, he would do every thing to promote.

The whole of this letter is artfully written, as if the king did not for an instant doubt that queen Mary would pardon Coverdale; but on the contrary, that he construed her last letter as a promise to do so. And he there tells her in other words, that, as by her own statement, Coverdale only stood charged with a debt, her majesty could not for an instant refuse so small a boon as his pardon, to a monarch whose friendship she professed to wish to preserve. The consequence was, that the queen found herself obliged, either to send Coverdale over to Denmark, according to Christian's request; or else to put an affront on that monarch, which he could not well be expected quietly to bear.

She, however, delayed her answer for some time,

as if undetermined how to act; but at last finding that she had no choice left, but that she must, however loth she might be, permit Coverdale to depart in safety, since the king had made such a point of his request, that a refusal might endanger the good understanding between the two kingdoms, she reluctantly suffered him to go, and wrote an answer to the king, dated the 18th of February, 1555.[i]

In it she says, that having received his majesty's letters, and having understood therefrom, the desire that he had, that Coverdale should be allowed to depart from her kingdom to go to his, she had granted it. "And although he is our natural born subject, "and is not yet freed from a debt of certain monies, "which by law he was bound to pay to our treasury; "yet we held that a greater weight was to be given "to your request, than to our debt." And this letter like the former, concluded with obliging expressions of good-will and amity.

Coverdale was accordingly allowed to go over to Denmark,[k] and fortunate it was for him, that he had such zealous instances made in his favour; for shortly after, the persecutions for which queen Mary's reign is so justly detested, commenced, and it is impossible to think but that he would have been amongst its earliest and most illustrious victims.

The bigotry of the queen no doubt made her look on the man, who had been mainly instrumental in

[i] Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 183.

[k] He had his passport granted for himself, and two servants, on the 19th of February, 1555.

putting forth the Bible, no matter how blameless his life might have been, as an arch-heretic. And as we are told, that it was only through the persuasions of the more moderate of her council, that she was induced for so long a time to refrain from giving vent to her religious zeal, by all the horrors of persecution; we may reasonably presume, that Mary's long delay in complying with Christian's request, arose from a disinclination to allow so great an offender to escape the punishment, which she was meditating on all those, who had so far wandered from what she considered, the orthodox faith. Alluding to the narrowness of this escape of his, Fuller figuratively says:[1] "He was as a fire-brand plucked out of the burning."

The reader is no doubt well acquainted with the atrocities committed in this reign under the influence of a fanatical zeal for the interests of religion, mixed up with more objectionable and more sordid motives: it would be unnecessary, therefore, and it is not the purpose of this work, to undertake the painful task of recapitulating them. We shall accordingly follow Coverdale abroad, without thinking it necessary to state that nothing of course was done in this reign towards setting forth the Bible; but, on the contrary, every thing that could be devised to suppress it and prohibit its use, under the most severe penalties.

When Coverdale arrived in Denmark, he was received with the joy and welcome with which those

[1] Church Hist. b. ix. p. 64, ed. 1655.

are greeted by their friends, who have unexpectedly escaped from great danger; for the time that had elapsed before the queen's answer was given, was such as must naturally have inspired the most painful forebodings.

He was received with open arms by Macchabæus, to whom we are told "affinitate (& quod gravius est) "pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum similitudine, tanquam "frater devinctus erat;" and the good king Christian no doubt rejoiced to see the man, in whose behalf he had so interested himself.

After staying there some while he proceeded to Wezel, where he officiated as preacher to the English refugees.[m]

It is said that the king of Denmark was very loth to part with him, and offered him a benefice in Denmark; but this good man preferring his duty to all other considerations, as he did not know the Danish tongue, would not remain where he could be of little or no use. With that pure and enthusiastic spirit of religion, which distinguished some of the early reformers, he believed himself called upon, like the apostles of old, never to rest; but to go about continually preaching the truth of the gospel. And more particularly did he feel himself called upon, when those who followed the true spirit of our Saviour's injunctions, were persecuted and driven from their home,

[m] Troubles at Frankf. p. 184. Strype intimates that Coverdale was there in 1554.—Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 147; but in page 152, he tacitly contradicts himself, by mentioning the queen's letter of February, 1555.

their family, and their friends, to wander poor and neglected in a foreign country, exposed to the greatest miseries and to the greatest privations. There could be no more sacred duty he felt, than for those who had been the means of planting the belief in their hearts, now to strengthen it by their advice and example, and not to suffer them to be utterly cast down by the weight of their calamity. Words of consolation and comfort were now doubly necessary to those, whose prospects in this world were so forlorn and cheerless. Coverdale accordingly preferred this sacred mission, attended with difficulties and hardships as it was, to remaining as he might have done, in comparative ease in Denmark, whilst his fellow-Christians were in misery and want.

He however, had not been long at Wezel, when Wolfgang, Duke of Deux-Ponts, in whose dominions he had resided before, sent for him and offered him again his former benefice of Bergzabern, which he accordingly accepted: for he found that he could here be of service, being well able, as we have before stated, to preach in the German language.

And another reason that may have weighed with him to accept this charge, was, that almost all the congregations of reformers that were assembled at the different cities in Germany, were torn with internal dissension; some following one preacher, and some another, who differed from each other in some slight minutiæ of ceremonial or doctrine, which they advocated with an acrimony and bitterness, alike unworthy of the matter itself, and discreditable to their

character as Christians. Coverdale was himself averse to entering into disputes of this kind, (which had he joined these congregations he must have done;) for he saw that they only thus afforded a handle to their enemies, who had always maintained that such would be the consequences of a departure from the Roman Catholic faith; and that men who once renounced the belief in which they had been brought up, would never afterwards be settled in any particular doctrine, but veering about, first one way and then the other, would occasion interminable disputes, and throw the whole state of civil society into confusion; and moreover, to a man of his character, strife and contention of any kind, were highly disagreeable. He therefore preferred retiring to a place where he could enjoy tranquillity, and discharge his duties as a Christian, and a minister of God, in the peace and quietness so congenial to him.

But when the new edition of the Bible was being brought out at Geneva, and his assistance became of much importance, he directly proceeded thither: and he had the less reluctance to do so, since the congregation at Geneva, was the best ordered of any that had assembled any where abroad; and the most celebrated for piety and learning of the reformers were amongst its members.

At what time he went to Geneva, we cannot ascertain exactly; but we find his name subscribed to a letter, from the ministers of the church at that place, to those at Frankfort, written the 15th day of December, 1558, of which the purport was to congratulate

them on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and to desire that all private dissensions betwixt them, concerning forms and ceremonies, might be laid aside; seeing, as they there said, that the papists could wish nothing more than that such should exist."

" Troubles at Frankf. p. 187.

CHAPTER XII.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. — COVERDALE RETURNS INTO ENGLAND. — OFFICIATES AT THE CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER. — DOES NOT RESUME HIS BISHOPRICK, FROM RELIGIOUS SCRUPLES. — GRINDAL'S LETTER ABOUT COVERDALE NOT HAVING MET WITH DUE PREFERMENT. — HE IS HOWEVER AFTERWARDS PRESENTED TO THE LIVING OF ST. MAGNUS, WHICH HE DOES NOT ENJOY LONG. — HIS LETTERS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONCERNING HIS INABILITY TO PAY FIRST-FRUITS. — IS ADMITTED TO THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF DIVINITY 'PER GRATIAM,' BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. — HIS DEATH. — EPITAPH.

THE accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne was a joyful event to all the reformers. That princess had been early brought up in the new opinions, and men had seen with fear and concern, the dangers to which she had been exposed during the late reign. Though Philip had always interposed in her favour, to procure her the unmolested exercise of her own religion; yet it was impossible to foresee to what lengths the bigotry of Mary, increased by old age and disease, might have carried her.

On all sides, discontents had manifested themselves against the Spanish alliance; and men feared from

what they had already experienced, that England might become a mere appanage to the crown of Spain. They therefore saw with increased delight a young princess, who had hitherto shown so much prudence and moderation, mount the throne, which they prognosticated she would fill to the honour and prosperity of the kingdom.

During the late reign, the kingdom had been solemnly and formally reconciled to the pope, and received once more into the bosom of the holy church. The most rigid conformity was exacted with a spirit of the most unrelenting persecution; and the only alternative for those of the reformed tenets was to flee the country, or to unhesitatingly comply with whatever was asked of them.

In this manner, the whole nation was brought into an acquiescence with the established form of worship. When, therefore, the death of Mary called Elizabeth to the throne, she had a very delicate part to play; and great caution was necessary to be used in bringing about a change in so important a matter, as that of the public religion of a country. She accordingly proceeded slowly and gradually, and she took particular care to restrain the breaking out of any ill-timed zeal in those of her own party. For fear of causing any apprehension of a violent change, she continued some of her sister's ministers in their posts; but she took care to add to them several who were of the reformed opinions, with whom she consulted as to the proper measures for restoring the protestant religion.

They represented to her, that the greater part of the nation, ever since her father's time, had inclined to the reformed religion; and although in the preceding reign the severities that had been used, had brought the nation to a conformity with the Catholic form of worship, yet that such conformity was only seeming, and not real. As yet, they said, men scrupled little to follow the belief which their princes adopted; and it was easy for her, by bestowing all offices of honour and emolument on those of her own persuasion, to gradually lead her subjects, without any of the severe methods used in the late reign, to a conformity with her own tenets.

By their advice, accordingly, she determined to patiently await the opening of her parliament, in order to alter the present establishment; but, in the mean time, she took care that men should see generally that she was well disposed to the reformed doctrines. She liberated all those who were in prison, and recalled all those who were in exile, on account of their religion; and exerting a power which had been before exercised by her predecessors, she inhibited all but the most moderate of her own party from preaching.

On the news of Elizabeth's accession, all those who had fled from England, on account of persecution for religion, returned home; except a few who remained at Geneva, to superintend the completion of the Bible, which was published in 1560, in a quarto volume.*

* Copies: Lambeth.—Balliol Coll.—St. John's Coll. Oxf.—Mr. Herbert.—Rev. Dr. Bliss.—Rev. H. Cotton.

It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and had a long epistle to the reader. It was for many years a most popular translation in England; as the numerous editions of it may testify. And although after the appearance of King James's translation, the use of it declined; yet its notes were in many instances used for a long time afterwards. As Coverdale's share in the authorship of this Geneva translation of the Bible is unknown, we will not give a further description of it; but those who are desirous may find one in Cotton's list of Bibles.

In 1557, a translation of the New Testament[b] alone had been published at Geneva, and was reprinted in 1560; but it does not appear that Coverdale had any hand in it; and indeed it is to be remarked, that the translation is different to that contained in the whole Bible, 1560.

Many editions of the Bible were now printed, chiefly of Cranmer's and the Geneva; and many also of the New Testament of various translations.

Coverdale was not one of those who remained at Geneva, to superintend the publication of the Bible, as we find him on the 12th of November, 1559, taking his turn as preacher at Paul's Cross.[c]

The refugees had been supported during their exile, partly, by the profits arising from the sale of tracts and other religious books, which notwithstanding the prohibitions, they contrived to import into

[b] Copies: Brit. Mus.—Bodleian.—Lambeth.—Balliol Coll.—Bapt. Mus. Brist.—Dr. Coombe.

[c] Stry. Grindal, p. 27.

England; and partly, by sums of money sent them over by their friends; and partly, by the assistance which those of the reformed religion in Germany afforded them. Their situation was, notwithstanding, but very bad; for even their friends, in sending them money, ran much danger as supporters of heretics: for not content with issuing a proclamation on the 13th of June, 1555,[d] forbidding all these books that had been imported, and amongst the rest all books of Coverdale, the late government had also sent out articles of inquiry on the following day, to the wardens of every company in the city of London; to know whether they had seen or heard of any of these books which had come from Zurich, Strasbourg, Frankfort, Wezel, Embden, and Dimsberg (at which places were English refugees); and also as to whom they knew or suspected to be, carriers of letters or money, from hence to those places.

Coverdale himself, notwithstanding the friends he had, was in no very enviable condition, if we are to look to what Bale says of him, almost in a tone of pity, in a new edition of his work, printed at Basle, in the beginning of 1559: "Claruit episcopus Exces-
"triensis sub rege Edvuardo sexto, anno Dom. 1552,
"*nunc* autem in Germania *pauper* ac *peregrinus*
"manet."

It would appear that Coverdale on his return to England, was looked upon and treated as a bishop, although he had been deprived in the late reign: for

[d] Stry. Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 250.—Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 271.—Wilk. Conc.

we find that he assisted in that character, at the consecration of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 17th December, 1559.

But he had, with many of the reformers, taken so great a dislike to habits and ceremonies, which they considered as so many concomitants and ingredients of idolatrous worship, that on this occasion he would only wear a plain black gown, whilst the rest wore surplices.[e]

This ordination was objected to afterwards, because, it was said, it was necessary by law that three bishops at the least should be present at the consecration of an archbishop: whereas it was contended that on this occasion there was not even one present; for that Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Bale, and the suffragans of Bedford and Thetford, who alone were there, had been deprived in Mary's reign, and had not since been restored, therefore they were not bishops at all. They alleged also, as another ground, which was nothing more than a scandalous falsehood, maliciously invented; namely, that the ceremony had been performed at a tavern, over their wine.[f] The intention with which this objection and this falsehood were urged, was obvious enough; for as Parker was the first protestant archbishop in this reign, all who were afterwards made bishops, derived their title from consecration given at his hands; and if he were not properly consecrated, of course none who came after him could be so: and on this ground it was after-

[e] Stry. Parker, p. 57.—Ann. of Reform, vol. i. p. 405.
[f] Stry. Parker, p. 59, and seq.

wards contended, that none of the protestant bishops had any right to that character.

And now with regard to the restoration of the bishops, who had been deprived in the late reign, Queen Elizabeth proceeded with a prudence and wisdom, that were much praised by all politicians. She did not on her accession directly issue a commission to deprive in their turn those who were then filling the sees, and to restore the former bishops, because she was unwilling to do any thing to agitate the public mind; but she waited until her parliament had assembled and had passed a law, obliging every person to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy, or on refusal, rendering them incapable of holding any office whatever.[f] Of course the bishops, who had been presented in the late reign, refused to take this oath; and they were all, with the exception of one, the bishop of Landaff, who consented, consequently deprived.

Coverdale's biographers are much at variance, with regard to whether or not, his old bishoprick was now offered to him. It would seem most probable that it was; for it may be asked in what character did he appear at the consecration of archbishop Parker, except as a bishop, who had been unrightfully deprived of his see, but who was still bishop of it in equity? For if the government meant to say he had been rightfully deprived in Mary's reign, then he was not a bishop at all, and therefore had no business at the consecration of Parker; but, if on the contrary,

[f] 1 Eliz. c. 1.

they meant to say he had been unlawfully dispossessed, although for reasons of policy they might not think fit to immediately turn out the bishop then installed, yet when he once was so, there was no excuse or reason for not offering the bishoprick back to Coverdale. Besides, he was a man eminent alike for his piety and his learning, and whose nomination would have given much satisfaction to the reformers. But it may be said, if it was offered to him, why did he not accept it? Because, it may readily be answered, the parliament had at the same time passed the Act of Uniformity;[h] and Coverdale's scruples not allowing him to conform to a strict observance of some of the forms thereby required, the government, however willing, could not dispense in the case of a bishop, (whose example would of course direct all the clergy in his diocese) with any non-observance of the enactments of the bill, which they would thus have rendered a dead letter.

Turberville, who was the then bishop of Exeter, was deprived in the beginning of January, 1560; and on the refusal therefore, as we may presume, of Coverdale, the bishoprick was conferred on William Alley, on the 9th of June, in the same year. The congé d'élire was dated on the 27th of April.[i]

Coverdale thus remained without any preferment, notwithstanding all that he had done, and all that he had suffered for the reformed religion.

In 1563, Strype tells us,[k] that notwithstanding his great years he fell sick of the plague, but recovered

[h] 1 Eliz. c. 2. [i] Le Neve's Fast. Eccl. Angl. [k] Stry. Grind. p. 91.

from it, " as though God had some more work for " him to do in the Church, before his death."

In the mean time, however, it would appear from the same author,[l] that Grindal, bishop of London, wrote a letter to the queen's secretary, recommending Coverdale to the bishoprick of Landaff, when that see was vacant; telling the secretary, that he thought it not well that Coverdale, who was one of the oldest reformers, " qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo," should, in his old age, be without stay of living. He intimates his doubt, however, if, in the dilapidated state of the revenue, of which the last incumbent had been the cause, there was sufficient to live on; and he hints that it would be well, if any means could be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored to it. Strype, however, does not seem to have been able to discover, what was done in consequence of this letter. From this it would appear, that either Grindal was not aware of Coverdale's scruples concerning forms and ceremonies; or else thought that in the case of so eminent a man, they ought to be dispensed with.

Grindal appears to have entertained a high respect for Coverdale, and to have much interested himself to procure him some preferment. He complained that Coverdale was not taken that notice of, that was due to him: and he once said, " I cannot excuse us " bishops;" but in justification of himself, he averred, that he had offered him divers things, which nevertheless he thought not meet for him to accept of.[m]

[l] Stry. Grind. p. 91. [m] Id. ibid.

However, we find that on the 3rd of March, 1563, Grindal collated him to the living of St. Magnus, close to London Bridge.* But as a proof of how

* Newc. Eccl. Hist. Lond. vol. i. p. 398. In a note he says, that he supposes that this Coverdale is a son of that Myles Coverdale, who was made bishop of Exeter, in the time of Edward the Sixth.

The parishioners of St. Magnus have lately erected a monument to the memory of Myles Coverdale. The following inscription is in a handsome architectural compartment of white marble, on a black slab, to the right of the altar. An open book is above it, with "The Holy Bible," written on one of its leaves. The bishop's mitre at the top marks the rank of the deceased.

TO THE MEMORY OF MILES COVERDALE:
WHO, CONVINCED THAT THE PURE WORD OF GOD OUGHT TO BE THE SOLE RULE OF OUR FAITH AND GUIDE OF OUR PRACTICE, LABOURED EARNESTLY FOR ITS DIFFUSION; AND WITH THE VIEW OF AFFORDING THE MEANS OF READING AND HEARING, IN THEIR OWN TONGUE, THE WONDERFUL WORKS OF GOD, NOT ONLY TO HIS OWN COUNTRYMEN, BUT TO THE NATIONS THAT SIT IN DARKNESS, AND TO EVERY CREATURE WHERESOEVER THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE MIGHT BE SPOKEN, SPENT MANY YEARS OF HIS LIFE IN PREPARING A TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.
ON THE IV OF OCTOBER, MDXXXV.
THE FIRST COMPLETE ENGLISH PRINTED VERSION OF
THE BIBLE
WAS PUBLISHED UNDER HIS DIRECTION.
THE PARISHIONERS OF ST. MAGNUS THE MARTYR, DESIROUS OF ACKNOWLEDGING THE MERCY OF GOD, AND CALLING TO MIND THAT
MILES COVERDALE
WAS ONCE RECTOR OF THEIR PARISH,
ERECTED THIS MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY A.D. MDCCCXXXVII.
"HOW BEAUTIFUL ARE THE FEET OF THEM THAT PREACH THE GOSPEL OF PEACE, AND BRING GLAD TIDINGS OF GOOD THINGS!"
ISAIAH lii. 7.

poor Coverdale at this time was, it may be mentioned, that though he had obtained the benefice, he could not raise money enough to pay the queen her first-fruits, which amounted to £60 16*s.* 10*d.*, and was, therefore, obliged to petition her to excuse him the payment.

He wrote to the archbishop on this subject (as well as to others about the court), praying him to set his age and his poverty before the queen, and join with the bishop of London in procuring that the payment of his first-fruits might be forgiven him, seeing how destitute he had been of a competent living ever since his bishoprick had been taken violently from him; "I being," said he, "compelled to "resign. And how I never had pension, annuity, or "stipend of it these ten years and upwards; how "unable also I am to pay the first-fruits, or long to "enjoy the said benefice, going upon my grave, as they "say, and not like to live a year: her Majesty, at the "contemplation of such reverend, honourable, and "worthy suitors, will most graciously grant me her "warrant and discharge for the first-fruits of the said "benefice. And as I am bold most humbly to crave "your grace's help herein, so am I fully persuaded, "God willing, to shew myself again as thankful, and "in my vocation during my short time as fruitful and "as quiet as I can. 29 Jan. new year.

(Signed) Myles Coverdale quondam Exon."[p]

He wrote also on the same subject in the begin-

[p] MSS. C. C. C. C. Vol. Epist. Princip. quoted in Stry. Parker, p. 149.

ning of February, to Cecil, to beg him to be a means to the queen, to remit him the first-fruits of the said St. Magnus; "which the bishop of London "had gently granted him the pastoral office and "benefice of. That heretofore (he praised God "for it) his honour had ever been his special help "and succour in all his rightful suits: and that if "now (that poor old Myles might be provided for) "it would please him to obtain this for him; he "should think this enough to be as good as a feast. "And so beseeching him to take this his boldness in "good part, he committed him and all his to the "gracious protection of the Almighty. From Lon-"don, 6 Feb." Subscribing,

"Myles Coverdale, quondam Exon."[q]

Coverdale wrote, a month or two afterwards, to the archbishop again, signifying that the Lord Robert Dudley had sent him a message, informing him that the queen had granted him his first-fruits.[r]

We may perceive hereby, that although no preferment had been hitherto given to Coverdale, yet he was held in some estimation, when no less persons than the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the earl of Leicester, and the secretary of state, interested themselves for him in this matter.

It must not be thought that in accepting this preferment, Coverdale at all compromised those principles, which we have represented as making him

[q] MS. Cecil. quoted in Stry. Parker, p. 149.
[r] Stry. Parker, p. 149.

refuse the bishoprick three years before; since it appears from Strype,[r] that he was not obliged to strictly observe the regulations as to habits, &c., but that his neglect in this respect, as well as that of several other eminent divines of the same party, was connived at.

In 1563, also, he was admitted to a doctor's degree in divinity, per gratiam, by the university of Cambridge; and at the same time, Barkley, bishop of Bath and Wells, took a similar degree.[s]

In 1564, Grindal, bishop of London, being desirous of taking his doctor's degree in divinity, wrote to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, requesting him either to admit him himself, or to depute some one else to do so. Accordingly, the vice-chancellor gave power and authority to Coverdale, to admit the bishop. This instrument was dated the 10th of April, 1564. In pursuance of this power, Coverdale did admit him on the 15th of the same month, at his palace at London; Grindal having first taken the oaths before him.[t] This is another proof that Coverdale was not the less thought of because he was old and poor.

Some of the more zealous of the reformers, who wished for the simplicity of a primitive church, were much dissatisfied with the queen's measures. For Elizabeth had framed the liturgy as much as possible to include both parties; she had removed all parts

[r] Stry. Parker, p. 243.—Grindal, p. 116.
[s] Ant. Brit. Eccl.
[t] Stry. Grindal, p. 95.

that could be offensive to the Roman Catholics, and they accordingly did not hesitate to frequent the churches. Nay, we are told, that if it had not been to gratify the wishes of her own party, she would have retained most of that pomp and ceremony, for which the Roman Catholic religion is so celebrated; but to which, as much as to any thing in the doctrine, some of the reformers had taken a most unconquerable aversion.

Hitherto, as we have just remarked, a certain degree of non-conformity had been allowed; but the government afterwards determining to enforce a more strict observance of the liturgy, several preachers who would not comply, were deprived in the course of the year 1566.

Coverdale resigned his living in this year;[v] whether only on account of infirmity and old age, or because he was told that he must either do that or conform, does not appear; although the latter is the more probable of the two, as we find that he continued afterwards to preach, which he would hardly have done had the former been the case.

"After the deprivation of the London ministers," says Strype,[w] "for seven or eight weeks, their hearers "either came to the churches, and heard the con- "formable preachers, or went no whither. Many "of them ran after father Coverdale, who took that

[v] In the list of presentations to St. Magnus: "John Young, S.T.B. "24th September, 1566, per res. Coverdale." Newc. Eccl. Hist. Lond. vol. i. p. 398.

[w] Life of Parker, p. 241-2.

"occasion to preach the more constantly; but yet "with much fear, so that he would not be known "where he preached, though many came to his "house to ask where he would preach the next "Lord's day. This it is likely he did, because he "did not care for tumultuous meetings, lest he might "give offence to the government."

Coverdale did not live long afterwards. He died in February, 1569, at the advanced age of 81 years, and was honourably buried in St. Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange, on the 19th of that month.[x] His body was attended to the grave by vast crowds of people, who admired and loved him.[y]

He was interred in the chancel, and on "a fair "plated stone" on the ground, was engraved the following epitaph:[z]—

HIC TANDEM REQUIEMQUE
FERENS FINEMQ. LABORUM,
OSSA COVERDALI
MORTUA TUMBUS HABET,
EXONIÆ QUI PRÆSUL
ERAT DIGNISSIMUS OLIM,
INSIGNIS VITÆ
VIR PROBITATE SUÆ.
OCTOGINTA ANNOS
GRANDÆVUS VIXIT, ET UNUM,
INDIGNE PASSUS
SÆPIUS EXILIUM.
SIC ILLUM VARIIS
JACTATUM CASIBUS, ISTA
EXCEPIT GREMIO
TERRA BENIGNA SUO.

[x] Reg. of Burials.—See Note L.

[y] Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 185.

[z] Fuller's Ch. Hist. book ix., p. 64-5, ed. 1655.—Stow's Surv. fol. 191, b. ed. 1633. This stone was destroyed, with the greater part of the church, at the fire of London.

We have now, as far as our scanty materials would allow, endeavoured to trace the principal events of the life of Coverdale; and we cannot conclude without expressing our admiration of his character. Living in difficult and changeful times, his conduct and his writings were moderate, firm, and consistent throughout. Actuated by the purest sense of duty, principle, religion, he never allowed himself to be carried away by the prevailing spirit of fanaticism. It is impossible to read much of his writings, without being touched by the unaffected tone of benevolence, in which they are expressed. As one of our early reformers he ought to stand high in our estimation, particularly for the zeal which he always showed in setting forth the Bible in the English tongue. But what we think ought to make us more particularly esteem Coverdale, is his freedom from that stern, gloomy spirit of religion, bordering more or less on fanaticism, which unfortunately characterised most of the leading reformers of that day. We have only to regret, that the materials handed down to us, though diligently sought after, have not been sufficient to give more than this, at best, very imperfect account of so celebrated and excellent a man.

NOTES.

Note A. p. 20.

There seems to be some doubt as to when this occurrence took place, although the only parties, who could of their own knowledge affix a date, have related it as of the year 1529. Halle, who wrote about 1546, gives that date. Fox, who wrote in 1563, copies from Halle; Burnet also gives the same date. But Lewis and Collier have determined, that it took place in 1526, or shortly afterwards, (Hist. Transl. Bible, p.63, incorrectly numbered as p. 79.—Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 22) for the following reason; namely, that Sir Thomas More, in his Dyalogea, which were finished at the press in June, 1529, speaks of the burning of the New Testament; nay, that even Tyndal himself mentions it, in his preface to "The parable of the wycked Mammon," published on the 8th of May, 1527; and that, as they take it for granted that this buying the testaments, must have preceded the burning them, the former event could only therefore have occurred prior to May, 1527. But, in this assumption, they seem evidently to have forgotten the prohibition of Tonstal's, that he issued in 1526, and under which, the burning of the books alluded to by More and Tyndal, might have taken place.

Halle, however, who is much better authority, than the deductions or inferences of Mr. Lewis or Mr. Collier, clearly states this occurrence to have taken place, as we have before said, in the year 1529; and as if to put the matter beyond a doubt, in the following year, 1530, he tells us: "In this yere in Maye, the bishop of Londō caused al his newe Testamētes which he had bought with many other bokes, to be brought into Paules churchyarde in London, and there was openly burned."—Chron. fol. 192. b. ed. 1548. Lewis, however, has here made a curious error, for he has copied out this last paragraph from Halle, and gives it as of the year 1531; thereby necessarily making it the act of Stokesly instead

of Tonstal, and also stating it to be done in pursuance of certain measures, of which it was entirely independent.

Besides, the buying of these books is stated to have taken place, when the bishop was at Antwerp. Now this could only be in 1529, on his return from his embassy at the treaty of Cambrai.

We should not have thought of taking so much pains to show that Lewis and Collier are wrong in the date they have affixed to this transaction, were we not aware, that, from what Halle says, it might be fairly asserted he was speaking of the first edition of the New Testament in 1526; and that the presumption would be that the bishop would not have tried the experiment of suppressing heresy, by buying up the books containing it, when he found that the impression had already proceeded as far as two or three editions; and when it therefore seemed evident to any one, that as soon as those already published were sold, there would be a new edition to supply the demand.

It may be observed, however, in answer to the first objection, that Halle was not a describer of books, but of events, and might probably have forgotten when the first edition was published (and we know that so well were the orders for its suppression obeyed, that there is only one perfect copy now extant); but still have perfectly recollected the year and the circumstance; and then again, the first translation of the New Testament was published without any name attached to it, as we may learn from Tyndal himself, in his preface to "the parable of the wycked "Mammon," where he says, "The cause why I set my name before "this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, "is that then I folowed the counsell of Christ, which exhorteth men "to do their good deedes secretly," &c.; and Halle might not be aware that the subsequent editions, published with his name, were only reprints of the first, that was anonymous; and indeed the words he uses may appear to give some colour to this supposition, when he says that "William Tyndale had newly translated," as if there had been other translations before. In answer to the second objection, it may be urged, that the bishop in the first instance might not like to spend the money, when he thought he could effect the same purpose by an injunction; but that afterwards, finding all his injunctions of no avail, and being on the spot, and having the opportunity, his zeal led him to hope he would thus get possession of all these testaments before they could get into England; and perhaps he had reason to believe that the sale would be so small, in consequence of the regulations against them in England, that another edition would not be ventured on; but that they would keep their money, and not hazard it again. More, however, had greater foresight than he, when he tried to dissuade him from it.

It remains only to be mentioned that Hoker, in his life of Coverdale (Catal. of Bishops of Exon) has erroneously related this story as of Coverdale and his edition of the Bible.

Note B. p. 24.

An eminent living bookseller, however, is of opinion that this Bible was printed at Francfort, most probably by Christian Egenolph. This opinion he founds upon the fact, that the identical wood-cuts, which are to be seen in Coverdale's Bible, occur amongst others in two books he has of that printer. The first of these works bears the date of 1533, the other of 1539; the one being thus two years before the date of Coverdale's translation, the other just four years after. Thence follows the presumption, that if these same wood-cuts were used at Francfort, in 1533, and again in 1539, that they were also there in the intermediate years. And this view, namely, that Coverdale's Bible was printed at Francfort, is strengthened by the resemblance that exists between the type used in the first of these books, and that in Coverdale's Bible.

Through the kindness of the gentleman above alluded to, the titles of these works are here given verbatim.

The first is: "Bibliſch hiſtorien, figürlich fürgebildet, Durch den "wolberümpten Sebald Behem von Nüremberg." The artist's device "HB." This in a wood-cut border. Beneath, "Zu Franckfurt, am "Meyn, Bei Chriſtian Egenolph." At the end, the date "MDXXXIIJ."

The other is: "Biblicæ historiæ, magno artificio depictæ, & utilitatis "publicæ causa latinis Epigrammatibus à Georgio Æmylio illustratæ." The same artist's device. In the same wood-cut border. Beneath, "Cum Cæs. Maiestatis priuilegio, Francoforti Christianus Egenolphus "excudebat." At the end, the date, "MDXXXIX."

He also has another book of the same printer, in which some of the wood-cuts, used in Coverdale's Bible, occur, of the date of 1551. It is entitled, "Biblia veteris Testamenti," &c.

Whether or not the foregoing proofs are sufficient to set at rest the question of where Coverdale's Bible was printed, it must be left to the reader to decide.

Note C. p. 33.

Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, finds fault with Fox for assigning the date of 1531 to this instrument, when it clearly states itself that it was made in 1530, not only mentioning the year of the king's reign, but also the year of the archbishop's consecration, and even the year of the accession of the pope to the papal chair, as if to put the matter

beyond the possibility of a doubt. Lewis, however, in his history of the translations of the Bible, contends that Fox is right, and Collier wrong; for this reason: "that among the persons present, is Sir Tho. More, "knight, great chancellor of England, and it is known that he was not "so till October 25, 1530." He does not, however, attempt to explain, why the instrument is dated in May, 1530, if it was not made till 1531. Unfortunately for Mr. Lewis's reasoning, the fact happens to be that the date of Sir Thomas More's accession to the chancellorship, was the 25th of October, 1529, and not 1530. For an account of how this mistake probably arose, see a suggestion by the present writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1837.

Note D. p. 38.

Fox, in his quaint language says: "We may see and rather marvel "at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man; "who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without all fear of "death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so "boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the "king's law and proclamation, set out in such a terrible time, take upon "him to write and admonish that, which no councillor durst speak unto "him in defence of Christ's gospel." Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 480. It is, however, to be remarked, that Henry, bold and open himself, was not regardless of these qualities in another, when accompanied by the most implicit deference to his own authority and will; and as, in Latimer's letter, the whole blame of the matter is thrown upon the bishops, Henry, perhaps, was not altogether displeased at a time when he was making acquisitions to his own authority in ecclesiastical matters, that the bishops should see that their safety lay principally in his countenance and favour, and should therefore yield a willing compliance to all his demands. Latimer, indeed, so far from suffering for his interference, obtained rather the thanks and good-will of his prince; in token of which, he was shortly afterwards made bishop of Worcester.

Note E. p. 41.

Lewis gives no authority for this statement, and we have looked through the proceedings of the convocation, given by Heylin, (printed in Wilk. Conc. M.B.) for this year, without being able to find any thing of the sort. Strype, that laborious compilator, who would not have allowed such an important resolution as this to pass by him unnoticed, makes no mention of it in his life of Cranmer, who came to the Archi-

episcopal throne in 1533, (he was confirmed by the Pope's Bulls on the 21st of February, 1533,) and under whose rule, if at all, this decree would most probably have been made. It therefore seems likely, that this is an error of Mr. Lewis's; but it has been inserted in the foregoing pages, as he may have had some authority for it, which we have not been able to discover.

Note F. p. 48.

It seems to be a matter of some doubt, however, whether this story of Stokesly, and this letter of Gardiner's do not belong to a much later period, than the one at present assigned. It is very probable, that they may have some connexion with the Bibles of 1539 and 1540; as Cranmer is known to have taken a great interest in them, and it is not unlikely therefore, that he may have had something to do with the translation. This, however, is merely matter of conjecture; and therefore the order in which Strype and Lewis have respectively placed this occurrence, has been followed in the present work. Stokesly died the 8th of September, 1539.

Note G. p. 68.

It may seem a curious piece of negligence not to have reprinted the last page, as well as the preliminary pieces, to make them consistent the one with the other. But prayer-books may be seen, in which "King William and Queen Adelaide," are printed in the proper places, and yet the date in the title page still remains of 1828. See the large octavo, used in the churches, printed by Samuel Collingwood at the University press, "cum privilegio."

Note H. p. 78.

In some annotations to a translation of the New Testament, recently published by Mr. Penn, that gentleman says, "In 1535, Coverdale "printed an English translation of the Old Testament, to which he "annexed Tyndal's revision of the New, probably revised by himself." Any discussion of this assertion, that Coverdale's is a mere reprint of Tyndal's New Testament, *probably* revised by himself, would be uncalled for and unnecessary, now that a reprint of both these editions will be in the hands of those curious and willing to follow out the search. In the mean time, we can only give the following three or four examples from those, which Mr. Penn adduces, to prove that hitherto there has been no direct English translation from the Greek, but only through the medium of the Latin, with occasional references to the

Greek text; and in these examples, it will be found that Coverdale, unlike Wyclif, Tyndal, and the vulgate, has translated direct from the Greek, and not through the medium of any interpretation whatever.

Mark v. 30. Cov.: "And forth with Jesus felt in himself the power that was gone out of him."

—— Penn: "And Jesus immediately knowing in himself that power had gone out from him."

Here, says Mr. Penn, the Greek being "δύναμιν," the Latin "virtutem," and Wyclif and the vulgate "virtue," it is clear they translated from the Latin.

John vii. 35. Cov.: "Wyl he go amōge the Grekes that are scatred abrode, and teach the Grekes?"

—— Penn: "Will he go to the dispersed among the Greeks and teach the Greeks?"

Here, again, the Greek is "τῶν Ἑλλήνων," the Latin "dispersionem Gentium," and the vulgate, "the dispersed among the Gentiles."

John x. 16. Cov.: "And I haue yet other shepe, which are not of this folde, and those same must I brynge also, and they shal heare my voyce, and there shalbe one flocke and one shepherde."

—— Penn: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they will hearken to my voice; and they shall be one flock, and one shepherd."

Mr. Penn says, "In John x. 15," our version twice renders "fold," for the Greek words "αὐλη," and "ποίμνη," because Wicliff had twice rendered "foolde" from the Latin, which has twice "unum ovile;" but "ποίμνη" does not signify a "fold," but a "flock."

2 Cor. iii. 6. Cov.: "which hath made vs able, to be mynisters."

—— Penn: "who also hath qualified us to be ministers."

Here the Greek is "ὃς ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους," the Latin "qui idoneos nos fecit ministros," and the vulgate, "who made us able ministers."

In the Appendix, No. 7, will be found parallel passages, from the Pentateuch, by Tyndal, and the Bible by Coverdale; and in No. 8 and 9, will be found parallel passages, from the first printed translations of the New Testament, and the Latin text of Coverdale's editions.

Note I. p. 111.

There are two copies of this proclamation in existence, which have been treated as two separate proclamations. One is a draft copy, corrected in Henry's own hand-writing, in the Cott. MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 340, b. without any date, and the other is given in Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 439, and is there said to be issued in the year 1539. Any one who compares these two proclamations together, will not hesitate for an instant in pronouncing them to be one and the same. Fox's is in effect, only a condensed form of the other, with the addition of a clause for abolishing St. Thomas à Becket's canonization, and the keeping his day.

Strype, however, in his life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 34, Oxf. ed. says he does not know what date to affix to the proclamation in the Cotton MS. unless it be that of 1534; but in page 98, of the same work, he says the date of it certainly ought to be 1538; and he gives a part of it concerning the marriage of priests, without citing any authority, as being of the date of 16th of November, 1538. This last no doubt, is taken from the Cott. MS. Titus. B. 1, which is printed in Burnet's History of the Reformation, in the Appendix. Wilkins, in his Conc. M. Brit. gives, most likely, on the authority of Strype, the date of 1534, to this MS. copy; and also gives Fox's abridged form of it separately, as a distinct proclamation, under the date of 1539.

Fox himself does not mention any other proclamation of the year 1534, of a similar nature, or of any other year; and we do not think it can well be doubted but that these two proclamations are one and the same; and the only question then is, what date shall we assign to them. This difficulty is easily and satisfactorily set at rest by Grafton's letter from Paris, dated December the 1st; which, although there is no year affixed to it, contains abundant internal evidence to prove that it was written in 1538. (Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 329). In it he says: "And the daye before this present "came there a post, named Nycolas which brought yo' lordshipes letters "to my lorde of harfforde, with thewhich was bounde a certen inhibi- "cion for pryntynge of bookes, and for addynge of these wordes *Cum* "*priuilegio.* Then assone as my lorde of harfforde had receaued yt, he "sent ymedyatle for Mr. Coūdale and me, readynge the same thynge "vnto vs, in thewhich is expressed, that we shuld adde these wordes *(ad* "*imprimendū solum)* which *wordes we neuer heard of* before." &c. This sufficiently fixes the date of this proclamation in November, 1538; although, if it were necessary, there is not wanting further evidence in support of it.

Note J. p. 112.

Concerning these letters patent, the editor of the State Papers makes

the following remark, vol. i. p. 590; that although Rymer "*assigns* the date of 1539," to that document, "the 14th of November, 1538, is more "likely to be the true date of it, for it would then precede (as it probably "did) all the editions of Cranmer's Bible." This reasoning in the first place is far from conclusive, and in the second place, Rymer did not "*assign*" a date, but took the instrument from the patent rolls for that year, the authenticity of which we see no reason for doubting.

Note K. p. 142.

It is amusing sometimes to see how mistakes arise and are adopted. Tanner, in his life of Coverdale, says: "Anno 1547 in Ecclesia S. Pauli "London. prædicabat, cum multi Anabaptistæ palinodiam canebant. "Stow, Hist. p. 596." (Biblioth. Brit. Hib.) The author of the article Coverdale, in Chalm. Bio. Dict. (evidently copying from Tanner, for he gives the error of the date also,) translates the above passage in the following curious manner, highly complimentary however to Coverdale's persuasive powers. "In 1547, we find him preaching at St. Paul's with "such effect against certain Anabaptists, that *they are said to have* "*recanted their opinions.*"

Note L. p. 181.

It is extraordinary to observe the different dates given of Coverdale's death.

Strype says he died 20th May, 1565, (Ann. of Ref. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 43, Oxf. ed.) although elsewhere he speaks of him as being alive in 1566.

Neal says the 20th May, 1567, (Hist. of Pur. vol. i. p. 185.)

Fuller says the 20th of January, 1568 (Church Hist. book ix. p. 65, ed. 1655), and "Anno 1588," in his Worthies of England, p. 198, ed. 1662."

The writer, in Chalmer's Bio. Dict. says the 19th of February, 1568, but then he has evidently forgotten the distinction between the old style and the new. The following is an extract from "the Register of "Burials in the parish church of St. Bartholomew's, by the Exchange."

"Miles Coverdall, doctor of divinity was buried añ 1568, the 19th of "February."

That the person thus mentioned in the register is Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, there can be no doubt; since the epitaph inscribed on the tomb-stone, copied in Stow's survey, clearly states him to be so. It is perhaps unnecessary to observe, that the date, mentioned in the extract is the old style, and therefore according to our present computation, he died the 19th of February, 1569.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTER FROM COVERDALE TO CROMWELL.

Most syngular good Maister. With dew humylyte I beseche unto your Mastyrschype all godly comforth, grace, and prosperus health. For so mych as your goodnesse is so great towarde me, your poore chylde, only thrugh the plenteusnesse of your favour and benyvolence, I am the booldyr of your goodnesse, in thys my rude style, yf yt lyke your favour, to revocate to your memory the godly communication, which your Mastyrschype had with me, your oratour, in Mastyr Moorys howse, upon Easter Eve, amongst many and dyverse frutefull exhortations, specyally of your syngular favour, and, by your most comfortabyll wordys, I persave your gracyus mynde towarde me. Wherefore, most honorabyll Mastyr, for the tendyr love of God, and for the fervent zeall, that yow have to vertu and godly study, cordis genibus provolutus, I humbly desyre and beseche your goodnesse, of your gracyus helpe. Now I begyne to taste of Holy Schryptures; now (honour be to God) I am sett to the most swete smell of holy lettyres, with the godly savour of holy and awncyent Doctoures, unto whose knowlege I can not attayne, without dyversyte of bookys, as is not unknowne to your most excellent wysdome. Nothyng in the world I desyre, but bookys, as concernyng my lernyng; they onse had, I do not dowte, but Allmyghty God schall perfourme that in me, whych He, of Hys most plentyfull favour and grace, haith begone. Morover, as tuchyng my behavour (your Mastyrschypes mynde onse knowne) wyth all lowlynes I offer my self, not only to be ordred in all thynges, as schall pleyse your wysdome, but also as concernyng the education and instruction of other, alonly to ensewe your prudent cowncell; nam quicquid est in te concilij, nihil non politicum, nihil non divinum est; quicquid enim agis, nihil incon-

sulte agis, nusquam te primum philosophum prebes. De rore autem celi summam (more Jacob) surrepuisti benedictionem. De tuo ipso torrente maximo potari exopto, te quia coram alloqui non mediocriter cupio. Vale, decus literarum, conciliorum, omnium denique probitatum. From the Augustyns, this May Day.

Your chyld and beedman in
Jesu Chryst,
FRERE MYLES COV'DALE.

(superscribed)
Vnto the ryzt wyrschypfull, and hys most syngulare good Mastyr, Master Cromwell, thys be delyveryd, with dew maner.

The foregoing letter is in the Chapter House, at Westminster, Bundle C., and is printed in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 383. The date there is wrongly assigned to 1531.

No. II.

A LETTER FROM GRAFTON TO CROMWELL.

Moost humbly besechynge yo^r^ lordship to vnderstand that acco^r^dynge to yo^r^ request I haue sent yo^r^ lordship vj bybles, which gladly I wolde haue brought my selfe, but because of the sycknes which remayneth in the cytie. And therfore I haue sent them by my sũnt which this daye came out of fflaundyrs, requyrynge yo^r^ lordship yf I maye be so bolde as to desyer you to accept them as my symple gyfte, geuen to you for those most godly paynes, for which the heuenly father is bounde euen of his Justice to reward you w^t^ the eũlastynge kyngdom of god. ffor yo^r^ lordship mouynge o^r^ moost gracyous prynce to the alowance and lycensynge of soche a worke, hath worought soche an acte worthy of prayse as neũ was mencyoned in any cronycle in this realme. And as my lorde of Cantorbury sayde. The tydynges therof dyd hym more good then the gyfte of ten thousand pounde. Yet certen there are which beleue not that yt pleased the kynges grace to lycence yt to go forth. Wherfore yf yo^r^ lordshippes pleaso^r^ were soche that we myght haue yt lycensed vnder yo^r^ preuy seale. yt shuld be a defence at this present

and in tyme to come for all enemyes and adūsaryes of the same. And for as moche as this request is for the mayntenaunce of the lordes wórde, which is to mayntaÿe the lorde him selfe. I feare not but that yo^{r} lordship wilbe ernest therin. And I am assewred that my lorde of Canto'bury, Worsetter and Salsbury, will geue yo^{r} lordship soche thankes as in them lyeth. And sewre ye maye be that the heuenly lorde will rewarde you for the establysshynge of his gloryous truthe. And what youre lordshipes pleaso^{r} is in this request. yf it maye please yo^{r} lordship to enforme my sūnt, I and all that loue god hartely are bound to praye for yo^{r} p̄seruacyon all the dayes of o^{r} lyfe. At london the xxviij daye of this present moneth of August 1537.

(Superscribed)
To the honorable lorde pryvaye Seale.

Yo^{r} Orato^{r} whyle he lyueth
Rychard grafton grocē.

This letter is an original in the Cotton. MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 330.

No. III.

A LETTER FROM COVERDALE AND GRAFTON TO CROMWELL.

After moost humble and hartie commendacions to Your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entred into your worke of the Byble, wherof (accordynge to our moost bounden dutie) we have here sent unto your Lordship 2 ensamples; one, in parchement, wherein we entende to prynt one for the Kynges Grace, and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, wherof all the rest shalbe made; trustynge, that it shalbe not onlye to the glorye of God, but a synguler pleasure, also, to your good Lordship the causer therof, and a generall edefyenge of the Kinges subjectes, accordynge to your Lordshipes moost godlye request. For we folowe not only a standynge texte of the Hebrue, with the interpretacion of the Caldee, and the Greke, but we set, also, in a pryvate table, the dyversite of redinges of all textes, with such annotacions, in another table, as shall douteles delucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularyte of opinions,

as all checkinges and reprofes. The prynt, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship. The paper is of the best sorte in France. The charge certaynly is great; wherin, as we moost humbly requyer your favourable helpe, at this present, with whatsoever yt shall please your good Lordship to let us have, so trust we, (yf nede requyer) in our just busynes, to be defended from the Papistes by your Lordshipes favourable letters; which we most humbly desyer to have (by this berer, Wyllyam Graye,) ether to the Bysshop of Wynchester, or to some other, whome your Lordship shall thinke moost expedyent. We be dayly threatened, and looke ever to be spoken withall, as this berer can farther enforme your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we knowe not. Nevertheless, for our farther assewraunce, where thorough we maye be the abler to performe this your Lordshipes work, we are so moche the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have none, under God and our Kynge, whom, with noble Prynce Edward, and all you, their most honorable Councell, God Allmightie preserve, now and ever. Amen. Wrytten at Parys, the 23 daye of Juyn, by Your Lordshipes assured and daylye Oratours,

(Signed) MYLES COVERDALE.

(Superscribed) *(Signed)* RYCHARD GRAFTON, Grocc̄.

To the Right Honorable, and their singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Cromewell, and Lorde Prevaye Seale.

This letter is an original in the Chapter House, Westminster, Bundle C., printed in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 575. Date assigned (1538).

No. IV.

A LETTER FROM COVERDALE, GRAFTON, AND GREY TO CROMWELL.

After moost humble and due salutacion to Your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that your worke going forward, we thought it oure moost bounden dutie to sende unto your Lordship cer-

tayne leaves therof, specially seynge we had so good occasyon, by the returnynge of your beloved servaunt, Sebastian. And as they are done so will we sende your Lordship the residue, from tyme to tyme. As touchynge the maner and order, that we kepe in the same worke, pleaseth your good Lordship to be advertised that the merke ☞ in the text, signifieth, that upon the same (in the later ende of the booke) there is some notable annotacion; which we have writen without any pryvate opinion, onlye after the best interpreters of the Hebrues, for the more clearnesse of the texte. This marke ✠ betokeneth, that upon the same texte there is diversitie of redynge, amonge the Hebrues, Caldees, and Grekes, and Latenystes; as in a table, at the ende of the booke, shalbe declared. This marke ☜ sheweth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrue, or Caldee, but in the Latyn, and seldome in the Greke; and that we, neverthe lesse, wolde not have it extinct, but higlye accept yt, for the more explanacion of the text. This token †, in the Olde Testament, geueth to understand, that the same texte, which foloweth it, is also alledged of Christ, or of some Apostle, in the Newe Testament. This (amonge other oure necessarie laboures) is the waye that we take, in this worke; trustynge, verely, that as God Allmightie moved youre Lordship to set us unto yt, so shall it be to His glorie, and right welcome to all them, that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithfull obedyence. As is onlye knowen to the Lorde of Heaven, to whom we moost hartely praye for your Lordshipes preservacion. At Parys, the 9 daye of August 1538, by your faithfull Oratours,

(Signed) MYLES COVDALE.
(Signed) RICHARD GRAFTON.
(Signed) WILLM GREY.

(Superscribed)
To the Right Honorable and their synguler good Lorde, Lorde Prevye Seale, be this delyverd.

This letter is an original in the Chapter House, at Westminster, Bundle C., printed in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 578.

No. V.

A LETTER FROM COVERDALE AND GRAFTON TO CROMWELL.

After most humble and due salutacions to Your moost honorable Lordshippe. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we are instantly desyred of oure hoste, (whose name is Fraunces Reynold, a Frenchman) to make supplication for him, unto your Lordshippe. Where as, of long tyme, he hath bene an occupier in to England more then 40 yere, he hath allwayes provyded soche bookes for England, as they moost occupied; so that he hath a great nombre, at this present, in his handes, as Prymers in Englishe, Misseles, with other soche like, wherof now (by the Company of the Booksellers in London) he is utterly forbydden to make sale, to the utter undoyng of the man. Wherefore moost humbly we beseke your Lordshippe, to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he maye have lycence to sell those, which he hath done allready; so that, herafter, he prynte no moo in the English tong, onlesse he have an English man, that is lerned, to be his correctour, and that is the man well contented withall. He is also contented, and hath promised before my Lord Elect of Harfford, that yf there be founde any notable faute in his bookes, he will put the same out, and prynte the leafe agayne. Thus are we bolde to wryte unto your Lordshippe, in his cause, (as doth also my Lord Elect of Herfford) beseching your Lordshippe to pardon oure boldnesse, and to be good lorde unto this honest man, whose servaunt shall geve attendaunce upon your Lordshippes most favorable answere. Yf your Lordshippe shewe him this benefyte, we schall not fare the worsse in the readynesse and due expedicion of this your Lordshippes worke of the Bible, which goeth well forwarde, and, within few monethes, will drawe to an ende, by the grace of Allmightie God, who preserve Your good Lordshippe, now and evermore. From Parys, the 12th daye of Septembre.

(Superscribed) To the Right Honorable, and their syngular good Lorde, the Lorde Prevye Seale.

(Signed) MYLES COVDALE.

(Signed) RYCHARD GRAFTON.

This letter is an original in Coverdale's hand-writing, and is in the Chapter House at Westminster, Bundle C., printed in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 588. Date assigned (1538).

No. VI.

A LETTER FROM COVERDALE TO CROMWELL.

Right honorable and my syngular good lorde (after all dew salutacions) I humbly beseche youre lordshippe, y^t^ by my lorde electe of herdforde, I maye knowe youre pleasure, cõcernyng the Annotacions of this byble, whether I shall proceade therin or no—Pitie it were, y^t^ the darck places of y^e^ text (vpon y^e^ which I haue allwaye set a hande ☞) shulde so passe vndeclared. As for anye pryuate opynion or contencious words, as I wyll utterly avoyde all soche, so wyll I offre y^e^ annotacions first to my sayde lord of herdforde; to y^e^ intent y^t^ he shall so examen y^e^ same, afore they be put in prynte, yf it be y^r^ lordshippes good pleasure, y^t^ I shall so do. As concernyng y^e^ new Testamẽts in english ℭ latyn, wherof yo^r^ good lordshippe receaued lately a boke by yo^r^ seruaunt Sebastian y^e^ cooke, I besech yo^r^ l to consydre y^e^ grenesse therof, which (for lack of tyme) can not as yet be so apte to be bounde, as it shulde be: And where as my sayde lord of hardforde is so good vnto us as to convaye this moch of y^e^ Bible to yo^r^ good lordshippe, I humbly beseche y^e^ samę, to be y^e^ defender ℭ keper therof: To y^e^ intent y^t^ yf these mẽ proceade in their cruelnesse agaynst us ℭ cõfiscate the rest, yet this at y^e^ leest may be safe by y^e^ meanes of youre lordshippe, whom god y^e^ allmightie euermore preserue to his good pleasure. Amẽ. Written somwhat hastely, at Parys the xiii day of decembre.

(Superscribed)
To my moost syngular good lorde
and master, y^e^ lorde Cromwell
lorde prevye seale. this delyv̄.

Yo^r^ l humble ℭ
faithfull seruito^r^
Myles Coũdale.

This letter is an original in Harl. MSS. cod. 604. p. 98, and is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxi., p. 415. The date assigned (1538).

No. VII.

PARALLEL PASSAGES

From the Pentateuch by Tyndal, in 1530, *and the Bible by Coverdale, in* 1535.

GENESIS.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Pent. Tynd., 1530.

Thus was heavē ℭ erth fynished wyth all their apparell: ād ī y^{e} seuēth daye god ended hys worke which he had made ℭ rested in y^{e} seuenth daye frō all his workes which he had made. And God blessed y^{e} seuenth daye, and sanctyfyed it, for in it he rested from all his workes which he had created and made.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ Thus was heauē ℭ earth fynished with all their hoost, and thus in the seuenth daye God ended his worke, which he had made, ℭ rested in the seuenth daye from all his workes which he had made: And blessed the seuenth daye, ℭ sanctified it, because y^{t} in it he rested from all his workes, which God created ℭ made.

Exo. 20. b. Heb. 4. a.

EXODUS.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Pent. Tynd., 1530.

And there wēt a mā of the house of Leui ād toke a doughter of Leui. And the wife cōceaued ād bare a sonne. And whē she sawe that it was a propre childe, she hyd him thre monethes longe. And whē she coude no longer hyde him, she toke a basket of bulrusshes ād dawbed it with slyme ād pytche, ād layde the childe therin, ād put it in the flagges by the riuers brynke. And his sister stode a ferre of, to wete what wolde come of it.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

Exod. 6. c. ¶ And there wente forth a man of the house of Leui, and
* Act. 7. c. toke a doughter of Leui. *And the wife conceaued and
Heb. 11. d. bare a sonne. And whan she sawe y^{t} it was a proper childe, she hyd him thre monethes. And whan she coude hyde him no longer, she toke an Arke of redes, and dawbed it ouer with slyme and pitch, and layed the childe therin, and set it amonge the redes by the waters brynke. But his sister stode a farre of, to wete what wolde come of him.

LEVITICUS.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Pent. Tynd., 1530.

Yf any soule will offer a meat offrynge vnto the Lorde, his offerynge shalbe fine floure, and he shall poure thereto oyle ād put frankencens theron and shall bringe it vnto Aarons sonnes the preastes. And one of them shall take thereout his handfull of the floure, and of the oyle with all the frankencēs, ād burne it for a memoriall apō the altar: an offryng of a swete sauoure vnto the Lord. And the rēnaunt of the meat offerynge shalbe Aarons ād his sonnes, as a thinge most holye of the sacrifices of the Lorde.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ Whan a soule wyll offre a meat offerynge vnto the
Leui. 6. b. and 9. c. Nu. 15. a. LORDE, then shal it be of fyne floure, and he shal poure oyle vpon it, and put frankencense theron, ℭ so brynge it vnto Aarons sonnes the prestes. Then shal one of them take his handefull of the same floure, and oyle with all the frankēcense, and burne it for a remembraunce vpon the altare. This is an offeringe of a swete sauoure vnto the LORDE.
Leui. 10. d. *As for y^{e} remnaunt of the meat offerynge, it shalbe Aarons and his sonnes. This shalbe y^{e} most holy of the offerynges of the LORDE.

NUMERI.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Pent. Tynd., 1530.

And the Lorde spake vnto Moses and Aaron sayenge: The childern of Israel shall pitch: euery man by his owne standert with the armes of their fathers houses, a waye from the presence of the tabernacle of witnesse.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ And y⁵ Lorde spake vnto Moses and Aaron, ℭ sayde: The childrē of Israel shal pitch rounde aboute y⁵ Tabernacle of wytnesse, euery one vnder his banner ℭ tokens, after their fathers houses.

DEUTERONOMIUM.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Pent. Tynd., 1530.

Then we turned and toke oure iurney in to the wildernesse, euen the waye to the red see as the Lord cōmaunded me. And we compassed the mountayns of Seir a lōge tyme. Thē the Lorde spake vnto me saienge: Ye haue cōpassed this mountayns lōge ynough, turne you northwarde. And warne the people sayenge:

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ Then turned we vs, and toke oure iourney to the wildernesse, euen the waye to the reed see (as the LORDE sayde vnto me) and compassed mount Seir a longe season. And y⁵ LORDE saide vnto me: Ye haue cōpassed this mountayne lōge ynough, turne you Northwarde, and commaūde the people, and saye:

No. VIII.

PARALLEL PASSAGES

From the first printed translations of the New Testament, taken from the second chapters of the Gospels according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

THE GOSPELL OF ST. MATHEW.

Test. Tynd., 1526.

When Jesus was borne in Bethleem a toune of Jury, in the tyme of king Herode. Beholde, there cam wyse men from the est to Jerusalem saynge: where is he that is borne kynge of the Jues? we have sene his starre in the est, and are come to worship hym.

Herode the kynge, after he hadd herde thys, was troubled, and all Jerusalem with hym, and he sent for all the chefe prestes and scribes off the people, and demaunded off them where Christ shulde be borne. They sayde vnto hym: in Bethleem a toune of Jury. For thus it is written be the prophet: And thou Bethleem in the londe of Jury, shalt not be the leest as perteyninge to the princes of iuda. For out of the shal come a captaine, whych shall govern my people israhel.

Test. Tynd., 1534. *Emperour, Antw.*

¶ When Jesus was borne at Bethleem in Jury, in the tyme of Herode the kynge. Beholde, there came wyse mē from the eest to Jerusalem saynge: Where is he yᵗ is borne kynge of yᵉ Jues? We have sene his starre in yᵉ eest, & are come to worship him.

When Herode yᵉ kynge had herde thys, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with hym, and he gathered all yᵉ chefe Prestes and Scribes of the people, and axed of them where Christ shulde be borne. And they sayde
Miche. v. vnto hym: at Bethleē in Jury. For thus it is written by the Prophet. And thou Bethleem in the londe of Jury,
Joā. vij. f. art not the leest concernynge the Princes of Juda. For out of the shall come the captayne, that shall govern my people Israhel.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ When Jesus was borne at Bethleē in Jury, in the tyme of Herode the kynge, Beholde, there came wyse men from the east to Jerusalē, saynge: Where is the new borne kynge of the Jues? We haue sene his starre in the east, and are come to worship him.

When Herode y^e^ kynge had herde thys, he was troubled, ℭ all Jerusalē with hym, and he gathered all the hye Prestes and Scribes of y^e^ people, ℭ axed of them, where Christ shulde be borne. And they sayde vnto hym: at Bethleem in Jury. For thus it is written by the Pro-
Mich. 5. a. phet: And thou Bethleem in the londe of Jury, are not
Johan. 7. d. the leest amonge the Princes of Juda. For out of y^e^ shall come vnto me the captayne, that shall gouerne my people Israel.

Test. Lat. and Eng. Cov., 1538. *Nicholson.*

¶ Whan Jesus therfore was borne in Bethleē of Jewry in the dayes of Herode the kynge. Beholde, ther came wyse men from the east to Jerusalem, sayenge: Where is he that is borne kynge of the Jewes? For we haue sene hys starre in the east, ℭ are come to worshippe hym. But Herode the kynge hearyng, was vexed, ℭ al Jerusalem wyth him. And he gatherynge together all the princes of the prestes ℭ scrybes of the people enquired of thē, where Christ shulde be borne. And they sayd vnto hym: In Bethleem of Jewrye, for so is it wrytten by the
Mich. 5. a. prophete. *And thou Bethleem in the lande of Jewry
Joh. 7. d. art not the least amonge the princes of Jewry: *For out of y^e^ shal ther come forth a captayn, whych shal gouerne my people Jsrael.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Paris.*

¶ Whan Jesus therfore was borne in Bethleem of Jewry in the dayes of Herode the kynge, Beholde, ther cam wyse men from the east to Jerusalē, sayenge: where is he that is borne kynge of the Jewes? For we haue sene hys starre in the east, and are come to worshippe hym. But herode the kynge hearing it, was vexed, ℭ all Jerusalem wyth him. And he gatheryd together all the princes of the prestes ℭ scrybes of the people, ℭ enquired of them, where

Christe shulde be borne. And they sayd vnto hym: In bethleē of Jewrye, for so is it wrytten by the prophete:
Mich. v. a. *And thou Bethleem in the lande of Jewry art not the
Ioh. vii. d. least amonge the princes of Jewry. *For out of the shal ther come forth a captayn, whych shal gouerne my people Israel.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Hollyb. 1538. *Nicholson.*

This is the same as the foregoing by Nicholson, with differences in the orthography.

Bible, Matthews, 1537.

This is the same throughout as in the Testament of Tyndal of 1534, with the exception of some slight difference in the spelling, and one or two notes in the margin. We therefore do not give any extracts from it.

THE GOSPELL OF S. MARKE.

Test. Tynd., 1526.

After a feawe dayes he entred into Capernaum againe, and it was noysed that he was in a housse: and anon many gaddered togedder, in so moche that nowe there was no roume to receave them; no, nott in places aboute the dore. And he preached vnto them. And there cam vnto hym that brought wone sicke off the palsey, borne off fower men: and be cause they coulde not com nye vnto hym for preace: They opened the rofe of the housse where he was. And when they had broken yt open, they lett doune the beed where in the sicke of the palsey ley, When Jesus sawe their fayth, he sayde to the sicke of the palsey, sonne thy synnes are forgeven the.

Test. Tynd., 1534. *Emperour, Antw.*

Mat. iv. a. ¶ After a feawe dayes, he entred into Capernaum agayne,
Luke v. d. ¶ it was noysed that he was in a housse. And anone many gadered to geder, in so moche that now there was no roume to receave them: no, not so moche as a bout the dore. And he preached the worde vnto them. And there
Palseye. came vnto him that brought one sicke of the palsie, borne of fower men. And because they coulde not come nye

vnto him for preace, they vncovered y^e^ rofe of the housse where he was. And when they had broken it opē, they let doune y^e^ beed where in y^e^ sicke of the palsie laye. When Jesus sawe their fayth, he sayde to the sicke of the palsie, sonne thy sinnes are forgeven the.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

Mat. 9. a. Luc. 5. c. Johā. 5. a.

¶ And after certayne dayes he wente agayne vnto Capernaum, and it was noysed that he was in y^e^ house. And immediatly there was gathered a greate multitude, in so moch that they had no rowme, no not without before the dore. And he spake the worde vnto thē. And there came vnto him certaine, which brought one sicke of the palsye borne of foure. And when they coude not come nye him for y^e^ people, they vncouered y^e^ rofe of y^e^ house where he was. And when they had made a hole, they let downe the bed (by coardes) wherin the sicke of y^e^ palsy laye. But when Jesus sawe their faith, he sayde vnto the sicke of the palsye: My sonne, thy synnes are forgeuen the.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Nicholson.*

Math. 9. a Luc. 5. c Joh. 5. a

¶ And after certayne dayes he entred agayne into Capernaum, and it was herd that he was in the house, ℭ immediatlye ther came many together, insomuch that they coulde not be cōteyned, nother at the dore, and he spake the word vnto thē. And ther came some vnto hym bryngyng one sycke of the palsy, which was boren of foure men. And whan they could not brynge the same vnto hym for y^e^ people, they vncouered the thacke where he was, and openynge they let downe the bed, wherin the sycke of the palsye laye. But whan Jesus sawe theyr fayth, he sayde vnto the sycke of the palsye: My sonne, thy synnes are forgeuen the.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov. 1538. *Paris.*

Mat. ix. a. Luc. v. c. Joh. v. a.

¶ And after certayne dayes he entred agayne into Capernaum, and it was herd that he was in the house, ℭ immediatlye ther came many together, insomuch that they had no rowme (no not at the dore) and he spake the word vnto them. And ther came some vnto hym bryngyng one sycke of the palsy, whych was borne of foure men. And

whan they could not bryng hym vnto hym for the people, they vncouered the rooffe of the house where he was, and opened it, and let downe the bed, wherin the sycke of the palsye laye. Whan Jesus sawe theyr fayth, he sayde vnto the sycke of the palsye: My sonne, thy synnes are forgeuen the.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Hollyb., 1538. *Nicholson.*

¶ And after eyghte dayes he entred agayne into Capernaū, and it was herde that he was in the house, ¶ immediatly ther cam many together insomuch that they coulde not be cōteyned, nother at the dore, ¶ he spake the worde vnto them. And they came vnto hym bryngyng one sycke of the palsye, whyche was boren of foure. And whan they coulde not brynge the same vnto hym for y⁴ people, they vncouered the roofe where he was, and openynge, they let downe the bed, wherin the sycke of the palsye lay. But whan Jesus had sene theyr fayth, he sayde vnto the sycke of the palsye: (My) sonne, thy synnes are forgeuē the.

Math. 9. a
Luce 5 c
Johan. 5. a

THE GOSPELL OF S. LUKE.

Test. Tynd., 1526.

Hit folowed in thoose dayes: that there went oute a commaundment from Auguste the Emperour, that all the woorlde shulde be valued. This taxynge was fyrst executed when Syrenus was leftenaunt in Siria. And every man went in to his awne shyre toune, there to be taxed. And Joseph also ascended from Galile, oute of a cite called Nazareth, vnto iewry: in to a cite of David, which is called bethleem, because he was of the housse and linage of David to be taxed with Mary his wedded wife, which was with childe.

And it fortuned whill they there were, her tyme was come that she shulde be delyvered. And she brought forth her fyrst begotten sonne. And wrapped hym in swadlynge cloothes, and layed hym in a manger, be cause there was no roume for them with in, in the hostrey.

Test. Tynd., 1534. *Emperour, Antw.*

¶ And it chaunced in thoose dayes: y⁴ ther went oute a cōmaundment from Auguste the Emperour, that all the

woorlde shuld be taxed. And this taxynge was y^e^ fyrst and executed when Syrenius was leftenaūt in Syria. And every man went vnto his awne citie to be taxed. And Joseph also ascended from Galile, oute of a cite called Nazareth, into Jurie: vnto y^e^ cite of David which is called Bethleem, because he was of the housse and linage of David, to be taxed with Mary his spoused wyfe which was with chylde.

Christ is borne.

And it fortuned whyll they were there, her tyme was come that she shuld be delyvered. And she brought forth her fyrst begotten sonne, and wrapped him in swadlynge cloothes, ℭ layed him in a manger, because ther was no roume for them within in the ynne.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

℟ It fortuned at the same tyme, that there wēte out a cōmaundement frō Augustus the Emperoure, that the whole worlde shulde be taxed. And this taxynge was the first that was executed, whan Syrenius was leftenaunt in Siria. And they wente all, euery one to his owne cite to be taxed. Then Joseph gat him vp also frō Galile, out of the cite of Nazareth, into Jewry, to y^e^ cite of Dauid,

1 Reg. 15. 16. a. 20. b.

*which is called Bethleem, (because he was of y^e^ house and lynage of Dauid) that he might be taxed w^t^ Mary his spoused wife, which was w^t^ childe.

Mat. 1. c.

And it fortuned whyle they were there, y^e^ tyme was come, that she shulde be delyuered. And she brought forth hir first begottē sonne, ℭ wrapped him in swadlinge clothes, and layed him in a maunger: for they had els no rowme in the ynne.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Nicholson.*

℟ And it befell in those dayes that ther wente out a cōmaundement from Augustus the Emperoure that the whole worlde shulde be taxed. Thys taxynge was fyrst made vnder Cyrinus the debite of Syria. And they wente all to be taxed, euery one in hys cytie. And Joseph also wente vp from Galile, out of the cytie Na-

1. Reg. 15. 16. a. 20. b

zareth into Jewry to the citie of Dauid, *whych is called Bethleē because that he was of the house and lynage of Dauid, that he myghte be taxed wyth Mary hys

Math. 1. c

spoused wyfe beynge wyth chylde. *And it fortuned

whyle they were there, that the dayes that she shulde brynge forth were fulfilled: And she brought forth hyr fyrst begotten sonne, ¶ she wrapped hym in clothes, and layd hym in a maunger: for ther was no rowme for them in the inne.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Paris.*

¶ And it befell in those dayes, y' ther wente out a cōmaūdemēt frō Augustus the Emperoure, y' the whole worlde shulde be taxed. Thys taxinge was fyrst made vnder Cyrin° the debite of Syria. And they wēte all to be taxed, euery one to his owne cytie. And Joseph wēte vp frō Galile, out of the cytie Nazareth, into Jewry to the
1. Regū. xv. xvi. a. xx. b. citie of Dauid, *which is called Bethleem: because he was of the house and lynage of Dauid: that he myghte be taxed wyth Mary hys spoused wyfe, beynge wyth
Mat. 1. c. chylde. *And it fortuned that whyle they were there, the dayes were come, that she shulde be delyuered. And she brought forth hyr fyrst be gotten sonne, and wrapped hym in clothes, and layd him in a maunger: for she had no rowme in the inne.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Hollyb., 1538. *Nicholson.*

¶ And it befell in those dayes (that) ther went out a cōmaundement from Augustus the Emperoure that the whole worlde shulde be taxed. Thys taxynge was fyrste made of Cyrinus the debite of Syria. And they wente all to be taxed, euery one in hys cytte. And Joseph also wente vp from Galile, out of the cytie Nazareth into
1. Regū. 15. 16. a. 20. b Jewry to the cytie of Dauid, *which is called Bethleē, because that he was of the house and lynage of Dauid, that he myghte be taxed wyth Mary hys spoused wyfe
Math. 1. c beyng wyth chylde. *And it fortuned whyle they were there, that the dayes that she shulde brynge forthe were fulfylled: And she brought forth hyr fyrst begotten sonne, ¶ she wrapped hym in clothes, and layd hym in a maunger: for they had no rowme in the inne.

THE GOSPELL OF S. JHON.

Test. Tynd., 1526.

And the thyrde daye, was there a mariage in Cana a citie of Galile. And Jesus mother was there. Jesus was called also and his disciples vnto the mariage. And when the wyne fayled, Jesus mother sayde vnto hym: they have no wyne. Jesus sayde vnto her: woman, what have I to do with thee? myne houre is not yett come. His mother sayde vnto the ministers: whatsoever he sayeth vnto you, do itt. There were stondynge sixe water pottes of stone after the maner of the purifyinge of the iewes, contaynynge two or thre fyrkyns a pece.

Jesus sayde vnto them: Fyll the water pottes with water, and they fylled them vp to the harde brym. And he sayde vnto them: Drawe outt now, and beare vnto the governer of the feaste. And they bare itt. When the ruler off the feast had tasted the water that was turned vnto wyne, nether knewe whence it was (Butt the mynisters which drue the water knew) He called the brydegrome, and sayde vnto hym: All men att the begynnynge, sett forth goode wyne, And when men be dronke, then thatt which is worsse: Butt thou hast kept backe the goode wyne hetherto.

Test. Tynd., 1534. *Emperour, Antw.*

A mariage in Cana of Galile

¶ And the thryde daye was ther a mariage in Cana a cite of Galile: and the mother of Jesus was there. And Jesus was called also ¶ his disciples vnto the mariage. And when the wyne fayled, the mother of Jesus sayde vnto him: they have no wine. Jesus sayde vnto her: woman, what have I to do with thee? myne houre is not yet come. His mother sayde vnto the ministres: whatsoever he sayeth vnto you, do it. And therwere stondynge theare, sixe waterpottes of stone after y^{e} maner of the purifyinge of y^{e} Jewes, contaynynge two or thre fyrkins a pece.

Water into wyne.

¶ And Jesus sayde vnto them: fyll the water pottes with water. And they fylled them vp to the brym. And he sayde vnto them: drawe out now, and beare vnto the governer of the feaste. And they bare it. When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was turned vnto wyne, and knewe not whence it was (but the ministres which drue the water knew) He called the brydegrome, and sayde vnto him. All men at the beginnynge, set forth good wyne, and when men be dronke, then that which is worsse. But thou hast kept backe the good wyne, vntyll now.

Bible, Cov., 1535.

¶ And vpon the thirde daye there was a mariage at Cana in Galile, and the mother of Jesus was there. Jesus also and his disciples was called vnto y^e^ mariage. And whan the wyne fayled, the mother of Jesus saide vnto him: They haue no wyne. Jesus sayde vnto her: *Womā, what haue I to do w^t^ the? Myne houre is not yet come. His mother sayde vnto y^e^ mynisters: Whatsoeuer he sayeth vnto you, do it. There were set there sixe water pottes of stone, after y^e^ maner of y^e^ purifienge of y^e^ Jewes, euery one cōteyninge two or thre measures.

Luc. 2. g.

Jesus sayde vnto thē: Fyll the water pottes with water. And they fylled thē vp to y^e^ brymme. And he sayde vnto thē: Drawe out now, ℭ brynge vnto the Master of the feast. And they bare it. Whā the master of y^e^ feast had taisted y^e^ wyne which had bene water, and knewe not whence it came (but the mynisters that drue y^e^ water, knewe it) the Master of the feast called the brydegrome, and sayde vnto him: Euery man at the first geueth the good wyne: ℭ whan they are dronken, thē that which is worse. But thou hast kepte backe the good wyne vntyll now.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Nicholson.*

¶ And vpon the thyrde daye ther was a weddynge in Chana of Galile, and the mother of Jesu was there Jesus was also called to y^e^ weddyng and hys disciples. And the wyne faylynge, Jesus mother sayd vnto him: They haue no wine. And Jesus said vnto her. *Woman, what haue J to do wyth the? myne houre is not yet come. Hys mother sayd vnto the mynisters: What soeuer he sayeth vnto you, do it. Ther were syxe waterpottes of stone set there, accordynge to the purifyenge of the Jewes, conteynynge euery one two or thre *measures. Jesus sayd vnto them: Fyll the waterpottes wyth water. And they filled thē to the brymme. And Jesus sayde vnto them: Drawe nowe, and brynge it to the mayster of the feaste. And they dyd beare it. But whan the mayster of the feaste hadde taysted the water that was made wyne, and knewe not whence it was, (but the mynisters that hadde drawen the water knewe it,) the mayster of the feaste calleth the brydegrome,

Luce. 2. g.

* Metreta, is a measure of halfe a fyrken, so that euery pot conteyned a fyrkē or a fyrken and a halfe.

and sayeth vnto hym: Euery man at the fyrste setteth the good wyne, and whan they are dronke, than it that is worse: But thou hast kepte the good wyne hetherto.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Paris.*

¶ And vpō the thyrde daye ther was a weddynge in Chana of Galile, and the mother of Jesu was there. Jesus also was called to the weddyng & hys disciples. And whan the wyne fayled, Jes⁹ mother sayeth vnto hym: Luc. ii. g. They haue no wyne. And Jes⁹ sayeth vnto her: *Woman, what haue I to do wyth the? myne houre is not yet come. Hys mother sayeth vnto the mynisters: What soeuer he sayeth vnto you, do it Ther were syxe waterpottes of stone set there, accordynge to the purifyenge of the Jewes, conteynynge euery one two or thre *measures. Jesus sayeth vnto them: Fyll the waterpottes wyth water. And they fylled thē to the brymme. And Jesus sayeth vnto them: Drawe now, and bringe it to the master of the feaste. And they dyd beare it. But whan the master of the feast taysted the water y' was turned to wyne, and knewe not whence it was, (but the mynisters y' hadde drawen the water, knewe it,) the master of the feast calleth the brydegrome, and sayth vnto hym: Euery man at the fyrst settest forth the good wyne: and whan they are dronken, than it that is worse: But thou hast kepte the good wyne hetherto.

*Metreta, is a measure of halfe a fyrlzē, so that euery pot conteyned a fyrlyen, or a fyrlzen and a halfe.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Hollyb., 1538. *Nicolson.*

¶ And vpon the thyrde daye ther was a weddynge in Chana of Galile, and the mother of Jesu was there: Jesus was also called to the weddyng and hys disciples. And the wyne faylyng, Jesus mother sayeth vnto hym: They Luce. 2. g haue no wyne. And Jesus sayeth vnto her: *Womā, what is it to me and the? myne houre is not yet come. Hys mother sayeth vnto y' mynisters: What soeuer he sayeth vnto you, do it. Ther were syxe waterpottes of stone set there, accordynge to the purifyenge of the Jewes, conteyning euery one two or thre †measures. Jesus sayde vnto them: Fyll the waterpottes wyth water. And they fylled them to the brymme. And Jesus sayeth vnto thē Drawe nowe, and brynge it to the mayster of the feaste. And they dyd beare it. But whan the mayster of the feaste had taysted the water that was made wyne, and

*Metreta, is a measure of half a fyrken: so that euerye pot conteyned a fyrkē or a fyrken and a halfe.

knewe not whence it was, (but the mynisters that had drawen the water dyd knowe it,) the mayster of the feaste calleth the brydegrome, and sayeth vnto hym: Euery man at the fyrste setteth the good wyne, and whan they are dronke, than it that is worse. But thou haste kepte the good wyne hetherto.

No. IX.

THE LATIN TEXTS OF COVERDALE'S TESTAMENTS.

Test. Lat. and Engl., Cov., 1538. *Nicolson.*

Mathevs Capvt. II.

Cvm ergo natus esset IESVS in Bethleem Iudæ, in diebus Herodis regis, ecce Magi ab oriente uenerunt Hierosolimam, dicentes: Vbi est qui natus est rex Iudæorum? uidimus enim stellam eius in Oriente, et uenimus adorare eum. Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est, et omnis Hierosolyma cum illo. Et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi scicitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt ei: In Bethleem Iudæ: sic enim scriptum est per prophetã: Et tu Bethleem terra Iuda, nequaquam minima es in prīcipibus Iuda: ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populũ meum Israel.

Marcvs Capvt. II.

Et iterum intrauit Capernaum post dies, et auditum est quod in domo esset, et confestim conuenerunt multi, ita ut non caperent, neq; ad ianuam, & loquebatur eis uerbum. Et uenerunt ad eum ferentes paralyticum, qui a quatuor portabatur. Et cum non possent offerre eũ illi præ turba, nudauerunt tectũ ubi erat, et patefacientes submiserunt grabatum, in quo paralyticus iacebat. Cum autem uidisset IESVS fidem illorum, ait paralytico: Fili, dimittuntur tibi peccata tua.

LVCAS. CAPVT. II.

Factum est autē in diebus illis, exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto, ut describeretur uniuersus orbis. Hæc descriptio prima facta est a præside Syriæ Cyrino. Et ibant omnes ut profiterētur, singuli in suam ciuitatem. Ascendit autem et Ioseph a Galilæa de ciuitate Nazareth in Iudæam ciuitatem Dauid, quæ uocatur Bethleem, eo quod esset de domo et familia Dauid, ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata sibi uxore prægnante. Factum est autē cum esset ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret. Et peperit filium suum primogenitum, et pannis eum inuoluit, et reclinauit eum in præsepio: quia non erat eis locus in diuersorio.

IOANNES. CAPVT. II.

Et die tertia nuptiæ factæ sunt in Chana Galilææ, & erat mater IESV ibi: uocatus est autem & IESVS & discipuli eius ad nuptias. Et deficiente uino, dicit mater IESV ad eū: Vinū non habent. Et dicit ei IESVS: Quid mihi & tibi est mulier? nondum uenit hora mea. Dicit mater eius ministris: Quodcunque dixerit uobis, facite. Erant autem ibi lapidææ hydriæ sex positæ secundum purificationem Iudæorum, capientes singulæ metretas binas uel ternas. Dicit eis Iesus: Implete hydrias aqua. Et impleuerunt eas usque ad summum. Et dicit eis Iesus: Haurite nunc, & ferte architriclino. Et tulerunt. Vt autem gustasset architriclinus aquam uinum factum, & non sciebat unde esset: (ministri autem sciebant qui hauserant aquam), uocat sponsum architriclinus, & dicit ei: Omnis homo primum bonum uinum ponit, & cum inebriati fuerint, tunc id quod deterius est. Tu autē seruasti bonum uinū usque adhuc.

Test. Lat. and Eng., Cov., 1538. *Paris.*

The Latin version in this edition is exactly the same as in the foregoing, with differences in the orthography; except where in the latter end of the extract from Luke, instead of "quia non erat *eis*," it is in the Paris ed. "quia non erat *ei*"—and in the extract from John, instead of "Vt autem *gustasset*, it is "Vt autem *gustauit*."

Test. Lat. and Engl., Hollyb. 1538. *Nicolson.*

The Latin version in this edition is also the same as in the above, except instead of in Mark, "intrauit Capernaum post dies, et auditum," &c. it is "intrauit Capernaum post dies *octo* et auditum," &c.; and instead of "*dicit* eis Iesus: Implete," &c., "*dixit* eis Iesus: Implete," &c.

No. X.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST AND NOTICES OF THE SEVERAL EDITIONS OF COVERDALE'S WORKS.

N.B. The title is copied verbatim from the authority given between the brackets.

1. THE SUPPER OF THE LORD, after the true meaning of the vi. of John, and the xi. of the 1 Cor. and incidentally is confuted, the letter of Mr. More, against John Fryth.

Bl. L. 12mo. 1533.

[*Watts' Bibl. Brit.*]

2. "A worke entytled of y^e^ OLDE GOD & THE NEWE, of the olde faythe & the newe, of the olde doctryne and y^e^ newe, or orygynall begynnynge of Jdolatrye.—Reade most gentel reader, for many & diuers causes this moost goodly boke, excellent and notable in doctryne & lernynge: that thou mayst knowe wherūto thou oughtest to torne y^e^, what to beholde, what to beleue in this so greate dyssencion of all chrystendome, and in this so vnquiet & troblous estate of comen weales, 'Fare well in our lorde.'" On the last page:—"Here endeth y^e^ boke of y^e^ olde god & the newe, of the olde fayth and the newe, or y^e^ orygynal begynnynge of Jdolatrye. VIVE LE ROI. *Jmprynted at London in Fletestrete by me Johan Byddell, dwelling at y^e^ sygne of our lady of pite, next to Flete brydge. M.v.C.xxxiiij. y^e^ xv. day of June. Cum priuilegio Regali.* Fyrste reade, and then judge."

8vo. 1534.

[*Dibdin's Ames*, vol. 3, p. 385.] "The above title is embordered with pieces. On the back begins a kind of ironical prologue, the writer of it assuming the character of a translator, who had 'taught it to speke latyne:—For there are some men, whiche haue more delyte—in latyne workes: and as for the workes made in the vulgare tong they do litle sette by,' &c. It concludes, 'Fare well good reader & loke wel vpō this worke: for thy profyte & behofe it is made, y^e^ xxiiii. daye of Februarye in the yere of our lorde god. A thousande fiue C. twenty and thre.' In this book is cited much ecclesiastical history, relating to the

bishops of Rome; showing that as the riches of the church increased, so did vital religion decrease. It contains sig. R, in eights." Herbert, p. 483.

Mr. Wilbraham and the late Mr. Heber had copies; so had Herbert. There is a copy in the public Library at Cambridge. The sole authority for attributing this work to Coverdale, is the fact of its being found under his name in the list of prohibited books, in Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 574, 1st ed. But there is no mention made of it by Bale; and as far as can be judged from a few extracts, the style and sentiments are unlike those of Coverdale.

3. "¶ A PARAPHRASIS, VPON ALL THE PSALMES OF DAUID, made by Johannes Campēsis, reader of the Hebrue lecture, in the vniuersite of Louane, and trāslated out of Latyne into Englyshe. 1535."

24to. 1535.

[*Herbert*, p. 1545.] "The above in a compartment with C.E. at bottom. On the back is a cut of David and Bathsheba. Then, an epistle 'Vnto the Reader.' After the psalmes is 'The table of the Psalmes, after the olde translacyon.—¶ Here foloweth the boke of Solomon called Ecclesiastes.'" Herbert, p. 1545. The above work is attributed to Coverdale by Bale, as one of those translated by him, and is thus described, "PSALTERIUM JOANNIS CAMPENSIS."

This same work was published in Latin in the preceding year, printed "Paris per Franciscum Regnault Expensis honestissimi viri Thome Ber-" theleti Londonensi thipographii regii Anno 1534."

4. "THE CONCORDANCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, most necessary to be had in y^{e} handes of all soche as the cōmunycacion of any place contayned in y^{e} new Testament. * Anno 1535. * Cum Priuilegio."

8vo. 1535.

[*Copy in St. Paul's.*] The above in a wood-cut compartment. At the end, "Cum Priuilegio Regali," with the mark T. G. on the sides of a cut afterwards used by John Day, with this motto, "Horum Charitas." This work is attributed to Coverdale on the authority of Bale, who has given in his list of works, "NOUI TESTAMENTI CONCORDANTIÆ." But Ames, who describes this work, p. 186, says, that although published anonymously, we may learn from an intimation in the epistle to the reader, that Gybson, who was the printer of it, was also himself the collector or compiler of it. This however, seems to be a mistake of Mr. Ames, for no such intimation can well be gathered from the preface,

at least from that in the copy in St. Paul's Library. It may be, indeed, that Ames's copy was of a different edition to the one above described, or had, perhaps, what was very common at that period, a reprinted title-page and epistle; and then the epistle may have contained, what he states it to have done: and this view seems to be the more likely, as the title-page, as given by him, varies from the one above, although but slightly. The following is a copy of it:

"The concordance of the new testament, most necessary to be had "in the handes of all soche, as desire the communicacion of any "place contayned in the new testament. Imprynted by me Thomas "Gybson, Cum privilegio regali; with the mark T. G. on the sides "of a cut, afterwards used by John Day, with this motto, 'Sum horum "charitas.' 12mo. 1535."

This work is also attributed to Coverdale by Gesner, but as he takes his account from Bale, his authority is of no importance.

5. "BIBLIA THE BIBLE, THAT IS, THE HOLY SCRIPTURE OF THE OLDE AND NEW TESTAMENT, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D.XXXV. S. Paul. II. Tessa. III. Praie for vs, that the worde of God maie haue fre passage, and be glorified &c. S. Paul Col. III. Let the worde of Christ dwell in you plenteously in all wysdome &c. Josue I. Let not the boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyse thyselfe therin daye and nighte &c."

fol. 1535.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] The above is printed in a compartment of wood-cuts. The one at the bottom represents the King seated on his throne; the Bishops on his right hand, and the Peers on the left, kneeling. The Bishops are in the act of presenting the Bible to his Majesty, which he graciously receives. The royal arms underneath. A scroll on the Bishops' side with the text, "O how swete are thy wordes vnto my throte: yee more then honey &c. Psal. 118." on the other side a scroll, of which the Latin is, "Non enim erubesco Evangeliū, virtus enim dei est in salutem Rom. i."

"Of seven copies of this edition," says Mr. Cotton, "which I have seen, that in the British Museum is the only one which has the title-page, and even that is made up from two copies. Of the others the Bodleian copy is by far the finest." The above title page is not simply made up from two copies of the same wood-cut, as Mr. Cotton would thus lead us to infer; but from two different wood-cuts of the same design; as in the one, the texts in the scrolls, as above described, are in Latin, and in the other, in English.

On the reverse of the title is, "The bokes of the whole Byble, how they are named in Englysh and Latyn, how longe they are wrytten in the allegacions, how many chapters euery boke hath, and in what leafe every one begynneth." It contains however, only references to the first four parts; those to the Apocrypha and the New Testament, were probably on another leaf, which is missing in this copy, (the Museum one.)

Then comes the dedication to King Henry the VIIIth; 5 pages. Signed, "Youre graces humble subiecte and daylye oratour, Myles Couerdale." The Museum copy has "Quene Anne" in the dedication; Sion College has "Quene Jane;" Lambeth Library has a copy with each; the Bodleian has "Quene Anne;" All Souls' College has neither; Dr. Coombe has neither; The late Mr. Combes has "Quene Anne."

Then, "A prologe. Myles Couerdale Unto the Christen reader." 6 pages.

Then, "The bokes of the hole Byble," &c., 2 pages. This is evidently part of another edition inserted in this copy (the Museum one); or rather this set of preliminary pieces do not belong to this title page; since the same information is to be found printed on the reverse of the title page.

The contents of "The first boke of Moses," 1 page.

"The first boke of Moses, called Genesis." then should come according to Herbert, a map of the holy land. The four other books of Moses follow, with tables of contents prefixed to each; in all, fol. i—xc.

Then comes a title page: "*The seconde parte of the olde Testament.*" with the names of the books contained underneath. This in a compartment of wood-cuts. On the reverse, "The boke of Josua. What this boke conteyneth." Joshua to Hester, fol. ii—cxx. Tables of contents at the commencement of each book.

"*The boke of Job.* table of contents: "The Prouerbes of Salomon." table of contents: "Ecclesiastes." table of contents. From Job to Salomons Balettes," fol. i—lii.

Then comes another title page: "*All the Prophetes in Englishe.*" with the names of the books contained underneath. This in a compartment of wood-cuts. On the reverse, the contents of "the Prophet "Esay." The contents prefixed to each prophet. In all, fol. ii—cii.

Another title page: "*Apocripha* The bokes and treatises which "amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with "the other bokes of the byble, nether are they foūde in the Canon of "the Hebrue." Then follow the names of the books. At the bottom, "Vnto these also belongeth Baruc, whom we haue set amōge the pro-"phetes next vnto Jeremy, because he was his scrybe, and in his tyme." "This in a compartment of wood-cuts. On the reverse, "The transla-

"toure vnto the reader." containing some observations on the nature of these books. Underneath, the contents of the first book. The contents are prefixed to each book; except to "Certayne chapters of Hester." "The songe of the iij children." "The story of Susanna" and "The story of Bel," In all, fol. ii—lxxxiii, falsely numbered lxxxi.

Then the title page, "*The new testament.*" underneath, the books named. Also in a compartment of wood-cuts. On the reverse, the contents of "The gospell of S. Mathew." The contents before each book. In all, fol. ii—cxiii.

On the reverse of the last leaf; "*Prynted in the yeare of oure LORDE "M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October.*"

At the beginning of Genesis are six cuts in wood, describing the six days' work of the creation, and in different parts of the work, are other cuts also in wood, some of them very spirited and well executed, representing the history therein mentioned.

This Bible, as will be seen by the above description, is divided into six parts. The type is an angular Swiss or German. The title page and its reverse are in the same letter as the body of the text. But the dedication, prologue, the names of "the bokes of the hole Byble," and the contents of Genesis, are in a different character, and were most probably printed over here, after the arrival of the volume in England. There are a few marginal references, which are in Roman letters. On fol. xli. of part 1, is a large wood-cut of the Tabernacle and its contents; this is repeated on the reverse of fol. lvi. The initial letter of Genesis is a large flourished text capital. "The signatures run thus: the first part of the Bible begins with a i, and ends with p vi, in sixes. The second part commences with a a ij, and ends with v v vi, in sixes. The third begins with A a, and ends with J i iiij, in sixes. The fourth begins with A a a ij, and ends with R r r vi, in sixes. The fifth begins with a fresh set of signatures, A ij, to O v, in sixes; and the sixth commences with A A ij, and ends with T T v, in sixes. A full page contains 57 lines.—See art. 6, 11, 12, 13, 36, and 42.

6. "BIBLIA, THE BYBLE: THAT IS, THE HOLY SCRYPTURE OF THE OLDE AND NEW TESTAMENT, faythfully translated in Englyshe, M.D.XXXVI. S. Paul. ii. Tessal. iii. Praye for vs, that the worde of God maye haue fre passage ℭ be glorified. S. Paul. Colloss. iii. Let the worde of Christe dwell in you plenteously in all wysdome, ℭc. Josue. i. Let not the Boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyse thyselfe therin daye and

nyghte, y' thou mayest kepe and do euery thynge accordynge to it that is wrytten therin."

fol. 1536.

[*In the possession of Lord Jersey.*] This is the same edition as the foregoing, with a reprinted title page.

7. A FAITHFUL AND TRUE PROGNOSTICATION UPON THE YEAR MDXXXVI, translated out of high German.

8vo. 1536.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*] Herb. p. 747. Watt's Bibl. Brit. Tanner says it is among the prohibited books mentioned by Fox, 1st ed. p. 573. See art. 29 and 30. Besides these editions, Herbert says it was probably printed many times.

8. PSALM XXII. with an exposition, by Miles Coverdale. *Southwark, by J. Nicolson.*

16mo. 1537.

[*Cotton's list of Bibles, &c.*] Copy in the Bodleian. See the following article.

9. M. LUTHER'S EXPOSITION OF THE 23RD PSALM, translated from the German by Myles Coverdale. *Southwark, M.DXXXVII.*

16mo. 1537.

[*Herbert*, p. 1448.] This is no doubt the same work as that in the foregoing article, notwithstanding in the one it is called the 22nd psalm, and in the other the 23rd; since what we now call the 23rd psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd," is the 22nd in order in the Latin version, and the 23rd in the Hebrew. Herbert classes it under the printer, James Nicholson's works. He takes his account of it solely from Tanner, who speaks of it as "Psalm 22 or 23," beginning "The Lord is my Shepherd." Tanner says it is in 12mo. Southwark. Bale, ed. 1548, mentions it among Coverdale's translations, as "LUTHERUS SUPER, DOMINUS REGIT."

10. "HOW AND WHITHER A CHRISTEN MAN OUGHT TO FLYE THE HORRIBLE PLAGE OF THE PESTILENCE. A sermon, &c. By Andrew Osiander." Translated by Miles Coverdale, &c. as in art. 53. The title in a neat architective compartment with a cherubic head at top, and 1537 on the sell. Colophon; "*Printed in Southwarke by me—for Jan. Gough Cum priuilegio.*"

16mo. 1537.

[*Herbert*, p. 1447.] Classed under the works of James Nicholson. See art. 53.

11. "THE BYBLE, THAT IS THE HOLY SCRYPTURE OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTE, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly oversene and correcte M DXXXVII. S. Paul II. Tessa. III. ¶ Pray for us, that the word of God may have free passage, and be gloryfyed. S. Paul Coloss. III. Let the worde of Christ dwel in you plentiouslye in al wysdome, Josue I.—*Imprynted in Southwarke, in saynt Thomas hospitale, by James Nycolson. Set forth with the kynges moost gracious licence.* Dedicated by M. Coverdale to the king."

4to. 1537.

[*Ames*, p. 472.] Herbert has added nothing, p. 1447, nor has Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 51. Lewis has not mentioned any thing of such a bible. Cotton has curiously enough classed this, as "Matthew's Bible," and yet has referred as his sole authority to the Typographical Antiquities, where, as we may see from the above title, it is clearly stated to be Coverdale's. The third text seems to have been omitted in the above description, as the reference alone is given. The existence of this edition (which would seem to be a reprint of that of 1535,) rests therefore on the testimony of Ames. See the following article.

12. "THE BYBLE, THAT IS THE OULDE AND NEWE TESTAMĒT faithfully Traunslated into English and newly ouerseen and corrected.+. MDXXXVII. Josua. i. Let not the boke of this lawe depart out of thy mouth but exercise thyselfe therein day and night. *Jmprinted in South warke in St. Thomas Hospital by James Nicolsō. Set foorth with the Kyngs most Gracious lycence.*"

4to. 1537.

[*Herbert*, p. 1447.] "The above in an architective compartment, with a medallion at the top. On the back, 'The contentes of this boke.' The book of Hester ends on fol. cc.xxx; on the back of which begin the apocryphal books, which end on fol. ccc.xxvii. 'The thyrd part,' containing the poetic and prophetic books, ends on fol. c.lxxix." Herbert, p. 1447. "This copy (in the possession of Mr. J. Denyer) the only one I have met with," says Herbert, "contains only the old Testament. So that this edition," he adds, "though of Coverdale's transla-

tion, was printed without his dedication to the King." This is all the account that Herbert gives, but Dr. Dibdin, in his Ædes Althorpianæ, p. 61, has this further description of this rare and curious work, a copy of which is in the possession of Earl Spencer at Althorp. There is a copy also in the library of Geo. Offor, Esq.

"THE BYBLE, &c. *Imprynted in Southwarke in Saynt Thomas Hos-*
"*pitale, by James Nycolson.* 1537. 4to.

"SECOND EDITION. Although this be only a *reprint of Coverdale's,*
"I am not sure whether it be not even considerably rarer than its pre-
"cursor."—"It is clear that Herbert had never seen a complete copy
"of the impression. The one described by him wanted the New
"Testament; and as to the preceding article (article 11) described
"as of the same date, I apprehend the whole to be erroneous, and
"that one and the same volume is by Herbert divided into two.
"However, whether this be the case or not, it is quite clear that that
"indefatigable bibliographer had never a *perfect copy* of the first reprint
"of Coverdale under his eye."—

"The arrangement of the Contents is as follows: "The '*Contents*'
"occupy the two pages immediately after the *Title:* at the bottom of
"which latter, in large lower case gothic, printed in red, we read, '*Set*
"'*forth with the Kynge's moost gracious licence.*' The title itself, compre-
"hending twenty lines, with an intermixture of red letters, is enclosed
"within an arabesque frame-work. Coverdale's address to the King,
"'and vnto the Christen reader,' follow the specification of the contents
"of the volume. Then two leaves of a Calendar. The sacred text
"immediately succeeds, numbered fol. I, and continues consecutively,
"including the *Apocrypha*, as far as fol. cccxxvii. We have next a
"fresh title, ornamented as before, called '*The thyrde part of the olde*
"'*testamente, &c. Imprynted in Southwarke for James Nycolson.*' The
"contents are on the back. This third part begins with a fresh set of
"numerals, with *Job*, (the book of *Joshua*, &c. being considered as the
"beginning of the second, and the *Pentateuch* that of the first part.)
"The text of Job is numbered fol. ii, and the numerals continue con-
"secutively, all through the Prophets, as far as fol. clxxix. '*The New*
"'*Testament*—by *Miles Coverdale*,' follows, with a fresh title-page (as
"before) and a fresh set of numerals; concluding at fol. cxxiiii. This
"is succeeded by two leaves of a '*Table for the Sondayes*,' closing the
"volume at fol. cxxvi.

"The genealogy of this copy," adds the Doctor, "is most respectable;
"it having been successively in the collections of Lord Oxford and Dr.
"Charles Chauncey. It was obtained by his Lordship of the gentleman

"who had purchased it at the sale of the latter—at a sum by no means "beyond its absolute value."

Dr. Dibdin here says that, one and the same volume is by Herbert *divided* into *two;* but the reason that made Herbert give the title of the work that he describes as a separate article, was because he found that it *differed* from Ames's description. We must therefore either suppose that Ames was in error, or that there were *two* distinct title pages to the *same* edition; the latter supposition being by no means the most unlikely of the two.

It is to be supposed, although not stated so by Dr. Dibdin, that the Althorp copy wants the title page; or else why is it not given in the above description?

13. "BIBLIA THE BYBLE THAT IS THE HOLY SCRIPTURE OF THE OLDE AND NEW TESTAMENT faythfully translated in Englysh and newly oversene ℭ corrected. MDXXXVII S Paul II Tessa III Praye for us, that the worde of God maye have fre passage and be glorified. S Paul II Colloss III Let the worde of Christ dwell in you plenteously in al wysedome. Josue I Let not the Boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyse thy selfe therin daye and nyght, that thou mayest helpe and do every thynge accordyng to it that is wrytten therin. *Imprynted in Sowthwarke for James Nycolson.*"

fol. 1537.

[*Copy in the Bapt. Mus. Bristol.*] "After the leaf containing the Title page, follows an address to 'the moost victorious Prynce and our 'moost gracyous soveraygne Lorde, kynge Henry the eyght.' This occupies nearly five pages, and at the bottom of the last page occur these words: 'your graces humble subjicte and daylye oratour Myles Coverdale.' After this follows a Prologe to the Reader, of six pages. The first two leaves of Genesis somewhat torn; the copy in other respects seemingly perfect." From a description obligingly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Crisp, of Baptist College, Bristol.

This edition is extremely rare, and apparently the only author who was aware of its existence, is Tanner, who, in his Bibl. Brit. Hib., speaks of the Bible of 1535 being reprinted, 'fol. Southw. 1537,' with the same dedicatory epistle and preface. Lewis, Ames, Herbert, Dibdin, mention nothing of such an edition. The only other copy known is in Sion College, and from it the following more minute particulars are given. It is unfortunately imperfect at the beginning and at the end.

It begins with the 19 ch. of Genesis, at the commencement of fo. viij. and the numbers continue to the end of Ruth, fo. cxix., a table of contents being prefixed to each book, when there comes on a separate leaf, a map, entitled, "The descripcion of the londe of prom[*es*]." This is imperfect.

Then comes a title page; "*The seconde parte of the olde Testament.*" with the names of the books underneath. In a compartment of wood-cuts, with a wood-cut border outside. On the reverse, "The fyrst boke "of the kynges, otherwyse called the fyrst boke of Samuel. What this boke contayneth." The contents prefixed to each book. From Kings to Hester, fol. ii—c.

"*The boke of Job,*" table of contents: "¶ The Psalter." "The Prouerbes of Salomon." table of contents: "Ecclesiastes." table of contents: "Salomons Ballettes." In all, fol. i—lx.

Then a title page; "¶ *All the Prophetes in Englishe.*" with the names of the books underneath. In a compartment of wood-cuts. On the reverse, "¶ The Prophet Esay. What Esay conteyneth." The contents prefixed to each book. In all, fol. ii—ciii.

Then another title-page; "*Apocripha The bokes and treatises,*" &c. as in the edition of 1535. Underneath the names of the books. In a compartment of wood-cuts, with a wood-cut border. The reverse the same as in the edition of 1535. Tables of contents to each book, except to "Certayne chapters of Hester." "The songe of the thre chyldren." "¶ The story of Susanna," and "The story of Bel:" In all, fol. ii—lxxxix.

Then a title-page; "¶ *The new testament.*" Underneath the books named.—In a compartment of wood-cuts, exactly similar to that in the edition of 1535, with the addition of a wood-cut border. On the reverse, "¶ The gospell of S. Mathew What S. Mathew conteyneth." The contents prefixed to each book. This copy extends no further than to part of the x. chapter of Hebrews on the reverse of fo. cviij. There are two leaves besides, containing part of the epistles of St. James and of St. Jude, bound in at the end.

The signatures run thus: the first part contains up to U iv, in sixes. The second part begins A a ii, and ends on R r iv, in sixes. The third part begins on A a a i, and ends on k K k vi, in sixes. The fourth part begins on A a a ii, and ends R r r vi, in sixes, besides a leaf without signature. From thence to the beginning of the New Testament P v, in sixes. From the New Testament to where this copy is deficient, that is to say, to the middle of the x ch. of Hebrews, s vi, also in sixes.

A full page contains 57 lines. The type closely resembles that used in the preliminary pieces to the edition of 1535. It is to be remarked

that "The seconde parte" in this edition commences with Kings, whilst that of 1535 commences with Josua; and that whilst "Baruc" is given among the Prophets in the edition of 1535, it is in this edition included amongst the Apocrypha. The wood-cuts used are mostly copies from those of the edition of 1535; but there are two or three very curiously ornamented initials in this edition, chiefly in the Old Testament, which do not occur in the former. It appears to be a verbatim reprint of the edition of 1535, with some trifling alterations.

14. "SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES." in a label, over a tablet, containing, "THE NEW TESTAMENT," then follows, "faithfully translated and newly corrected by Myles Couerdale, with a true concordance in the Margent, and many necessary Annotacyons after the Chapters, declarynge sundry harde places contayned in the Texte. *Prynted in the yeare of oure Lorde* M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. *Set forth by the Kynges Licence.*"

16mo. 1538.

[*Herbert*, p. 1549.] The above title in black and red, without name of printer or place. "Then, An Almanac for 18 years and Calendar, in red and black. An epistle to the reader, with a beautiful red initial. 'Prologe vnto the new Testament.' At the end of the gospels is a blank page: '*The Actes of the Apostles*' in an ornamental tablet supported on each side by a cherub, begins on a fresh set of signatures, '*The Gospell of St. John.*' ending on y, in eights. '*The Epistle of the Apostle* Saynt Paul to the Romaynes.' begins on I ij; (there are two signatures with this letter, I; the former has only four, the latter eight leaves; upon which the epistle to the Romans begins;) and the cut is different and larger than that to the two epistles to the Corinthians, the epistle to the Ephesians, and the first epistle to Timothy, which may also be distinguished, by his holding two keys and a book in his right hand, and a sword in his left, from the other epistles of St. Paul, where he has only a sword in his right hand, and somewhat smaller: the second to the Thessalonians and the second to Timothy, (both which have at the beginning in the tablet as above, by mistake, '*The j. Epistle of the Apostle*') and Philemon, have no cut at all; as also the epistles of St. Peter, second and third of St. John and St. Jude; 1. St. John and St. James have a small one. '*The Apocalipsis or Reuelacion*' in a tablet without cherubs, the same as before St. John's gospel, has many large neat cuts; then '*The ende of the new Testament.*' over '*Here folowe the Epistles*' in a tablet with the cherubs, under which 'of the olde Testament, which are red in the church after the vse of Salisbury, vpon certayne dayes of the yeare.' Then follows '¶ *The Table wherein ye*

shall fynde the Epistles and the Gospels, after the vse of Salisbury.' The initial letters and running titles are all in red; the whole printed within red lines. The contents of the chapters are all set before their respective books, as to Coverdale's Bible, 1535." Herbert, p. 1549. "The Italic type," says Herbert, "is to notify the red, which I have been able to do throughout, my copy being imperfect." He also speaks of a copy in the collection of the late Mr. Bayntun. Cotton mentions, pp. 90, 99, and 134, "A New Testament; Coverdale's, 1538, 12mo. Antw." But this is clearly an oversight of his, the one he thus refers to being Tyndal's.

15. "THE *newe* TESTAMENT *both* LATINE *and* *Englyshe* ech *correspondent* to the other after the vulgare texte, communely called S. Jeroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Couerdale. *Anno.* M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. Jeremie. XXII. Js not my worde lyke a fyre sayeth the LORDE, and lyke an hammer that breaketh the harde stone? *Printed* in Southwarke by James *Nicolson.* Set *forth* wyth *the* Kynges moost *gracious* licence."

4to. 1538.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] The above title in red and black, in an architective compartment, with a medallion of two heads at top. Dedicated "¶ To the moost noble, moost gracious, and oure moost "dradde soueraigne lord Kynge Henry y^e^ eyght, kynge of Englãde "and of Fraunce. ℭc. Defender of Christes true fayth, ℭ vnder God "the chefe and supreme heade of the churche of Englande, Jrelande. "ℭc." and signed "Youre graces humble and faythfull subiecte. Myles "Couerdale." 3 pages. Then a preface "To the Reader." 3 pages. Then "*An* Almanack *for.* xviii. *yeares.*" and a Kalendar of the twelve months, in red and black. 4 pages. "In this calendar," remarks Herbert, "the conception of the Virgin Mary is printed in black, whilst her nativity, annunciation, purification, and assumption, are in red." The Latin is printed on Roman; the English, on black letter. Contains fol. 344, "which should be only 342," says Herbert, "as 167 and 168 are omitted: several leaves are misnumbered, but afterwards accounted for." At the end, "¶ A table to finde the Epistles and "Gospels vsually red in the church after Salysbury vse," ℭc. And then, "Here followeth y^e^ table of y^e^ Epistels ℭ Gospels which are vsed to be "red on diuerse sayntes dayes in the yeare." together 4 pages.

This edition is very rare. Mr. Herbert, who had a copy, mentions p. 1449, as a reason of its being so, "that Coverdale seems to have had it called in." Mr. Lewis was not even aware of the existence of this edition. There is an imperfect copy in the Bodleian. Mr. Cotton

mentions copies in Trinity Coll. Cambridge, and in the possession of R. Child, Esq.; but whether of this, or of the edition mentioned in article 17, he does not appear to have known. The dedication to the King, no doubt was written by Coverdale; but the preface to the reader, although it would at first seem to be also by Coverdale, upon a more attentive examination appears to be the work of some other hand. The style and sentiments of the latter part are totally different from those of Coverdale, and although portions of it are such as we might suppose him to have written, yet as he never alludes to it in the Paris edition, while he distinctly mentions the dedicatory epistle to the King, we may fairly infer that it is wholly the work of some other hand. For extracts from the dedication, see ante, pp. 94-8.

N.B. The words printed in Italic type in this article, are those which are in red in the original.

16. "¶ THE NEW *TESTAMENT* BOTH IN *LATIN AND ENGLISH* after the *vulgare texte: which* is red in the *churche. Translated* and corrected *by Myles* Couerdale: *and prynted* in *Paris, by* Fraunces Regnault. *M.ccccc.xxxviii.* in Nouembre. Prynted *for* Richard Grafton and Edward *Whitchurch*, cytezens of London. Cum gratia ℭ priuilegio regis."

8vo. 1538.

[*Copy in St. Paul's.*] In an architective compartment in red and black. The red in the original is marked in the above in Italic type. After the dedication to Lord Cromwell, and the address to the reader, from which considerable extracts are given, ante, pp. 99—103; there comes "¶ *An Almanack for. xvii. yeares.*" beginning at "m.d.xxxix." Then follows a calendar, having two months on a page, and very thin of names. "In it," remarks Herbert, "'S. Hilarii, S. Timothe, Mary Magdale, Assump. of our lad., Nati. of our ladye, S. Edwarde, All Soulen, Conc. of our lady.' are made red-letter dayes; S. George and S. Lawrence are in black; S. Nicholas and Inuencyon of the crosse are omitted." p. 513. The Latin text is in a Roman type, the English in black letter, with marginal references. It contains fol. cclxxiiij; besides the tables of the "Epistles and Gospels vsually red in the church after Salysbury vse." Herbert had a copy of this edition, which was printed on account of the incorrect one that had been put forth by Nicholson, under Coverdale's name. See the foregoing article.

17. "THE NEWE TESTAMENT BOTH IN LATINE AND ENGLYSHE eche correspondente to the other after the vulgare texte, communely called S. Jeromes. Faythfullye translated by Johan Hollybushe.

Anno. M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. Jeremie. xxxi. Js not my worde lyke a fyre sayeth the Lorde, and lyke an hammer that breaketh the harde stone. *Prynted in Southwarke by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the Kynges moost gracious lycence.*"

4to. 1538.

[*Copy in St. Paul's.*] This title, all in black, is in the same compartment as in article 15. Copies at Lambeth, Christ-church, and All-Souls' Coll.; perhaps also at Trin. Coll. Cambr., and in the collection of R. Child, Esq.; Mr. Herbert had a copy. This at first sight seems to be a reprint of article 15, or rather the same with a new title-page; but on examination it will be found, that every sheet is newly composed, and that both the Latin and English differ in some places. The title-page in the St. Paul's copy is supplied from a fac-simile. There is no dedication or preface. It contains fol. 342 in Arabic numerals. The Latin text is Roman, and the English, black-letter. Lewis erroneously treats this, as the edition of which Coverdale complained so much. From the difference between it and the edition in article 15, it would seem most probable that it is a new edition, in which some of the errors committed in the first, have been attempted to be corrected; and was very likely printed after the Paris edition described in the foregoing article, had made its appearance. For if Nicholson had printed this second edition to correct the first, before the Paris edition appeared, surely that circumstance would have been mentioned by Coverdale, when he speaks in the Paris edition, in extenuation of the printer. The reason that Coverdale's name is not affixed to this edition, is very obvious; since persons having heard that Nicholson had printed a translation, full of faults, of Coverdale's translation, the second edition if it had borne his name, would have been included in the censure of the first.

18. "THE NEW TESTAMĒT BOTH IN LATIN AND ENGLISH after the vulgare text: which is red in the churche. ¶ Trāslated and corrected by Myles Coverdale. 1539. ¶ *Prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch.* ¶ *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* I am the way, y^e^ trueth and y^e^ lyfe. Jo. xiiii. a."

8vo. 1539.

[*Cotton*, p. 136.] The above title in black and red within four wood-engravings. This edition is not mentioned in the Typogr. Ant. A copy at Christ-church Coll., which Cotton describes. He says, "this appears to be the Paris edition of 1538, with a *reprinted title* and *dedi-*

cation," and he founds this opinion partly on a typographical error. It certainly seems probable that it is a part of that edition, with a *reprinted title:* but quære, whether the *dedication is reprinted* also, or whether it would not be found on examination, to be the same as that in the edition of 1538, Paris.

19. A CONFUTATION OF A TREATISE WHICH IO. STANDISH MADE, against the protestation of D. BARNES. Printed beyond sea, 1540. in 8vo.

8vo. 1540.

[*Maunsell's catal.* p. 39.] Dr. Watt says, "again Marp. 1541 and 1547, besides one without date." Tanner also and Berkenhout say, "Marp. 1547." There is a copy in the Bodleian, in 8vo. printed Marp. 1547. It does not seem probable that this was printed so early as in 1540, as Coverdale only saw the treatise of Standish, as he says in his preface, in Dec. 1540; see art. 54. Maunsell has evidently proceeded only on the time when the protestation of Dr. Barnes was made, which was in 1540. See art. 54.

20. "THE OLD FAYTH, an euydent probation out of the holy scripture, that the christen fayth (which is the right true old vndoubted faith) hath endured sens the begynnynge of the world. Herein hast thou also A SHORTE SUMME OF THE WHOLE BYBLE, and a probation, that all vertuous men haue pleased God, and were saued thorow the Christen faith 1541. By Myles Coverdale."

16mo. 1541.

[*Herbert*, p. 1552.] Bale says it is a translation from Hen. Bullenger. Herbert had a copy of a reprint of this work in 1547, and Watts speaks of another reprint in 1684, in fol. Tanner refers to Fox A. & M. 1 ed. p. 573; by which he would seem to mean that it was prohibited by the proclamation in 1538, and that there must therefore have been an edition prior to this one. He says also, that it was reprinted in 1580. He likewise mentions the following as if it were a separate work, when it is in fact the same.

"AN EVIDENT DECLARATION OUT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, that the Christian faith hath endured since the beginning of the world, and that through it all virtuous men pleased God, and were saved, cap. xi. Pr. pr. 'Like as the almighty eternal God.' Pr. lib. 'I suppose plainly that many simple.'"

This he says, was printed at Lond. MDXLVII. in 8vo., and again in MDCXXIV. in 4to. See art. 27 & 28.

21. 'CHRISTIAN STATE OF MATRIMONY, shewing the originall of wedlocke, when, where, how, and of whom it was instituted and ordayned &c. Contrariwise how hurtefull and horrible a thing whoredome is &c. Printed 1541. in 8vo.'

8vo. 1541.

[*Maunsell's catal.* p. 39.] See art. 23.

22. "THE ACTES OF THE DISPUTATION in the Councell of the Empire holden at Rauenspurge, that is, all the articles agrede and not agreed vpon, euen as they were propounded of the Emperour, vnto the nobles of the Empire, to be iudged, delibred, & debated. Set forth by Mart. Bucer, & Phillip Melangton. Translated by Miles Coverdale 1542."

8vo. 1542.

[*Maunsell's Catal.* p. 45.] See art. 60. "Pr. ded. M. Buceri, 'Whansoever any councell or.'" Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.

23. "THE CHRISTEN STATE OF MATRIMONY, moost necessary & profitable for all thē, that entend to liue quietly and godlye in the Christē state of holy wedlock newly set forth in Englyshe. Heb. xiii. Wedlock is honorable among al persons, and the bed vndefiled. But whoremongers & aduouterers God shal iudge." At the end: "¶ *Imprinted—in the house of John Mayler for John Gough. Anno Dni.* 1543. *Cum priuilegio—solum per septennium.*"

8vo. 1543.

[*Herbert*, p. 497, 9.] "The above title," says Herbert, "in the same compartment as Bishop Latimer's convocation sermon, 1537. On the back are the following texts, Prouer. 5. 18—20. Pro. 12. 4. Pro. 18. 22. Pro. 19. 14." The preface to the book was written by Thos. Becon, as may be ascertained from the general preface before his works. There are several extracts from it in Herbert, p. 498. "After this preface, on 15 leaves, is a short address from '☞ The Author to the Christen readers,' on two leaves. At the head of the first chapter is a cut of the Almighty taking Eve out of Adam's side. The treatise contains lxxviii leaves more, besides the table at the end." Herbert, p. 499. This book is rare. Herbert had a copy. It was written in High Dutch by Hen. Bullenger, and only translated by Coverdale, as we may learn from Bale. Herbert says that it seems that this book had been printed before, under the title of "The golden bok of Christen matrimony," to which the printer had annexed Becon's name, in order to promote the sale. If we are to trust to Fox's account, however, A. & M. vol. ii.

p. 289, this was one of those prohibited in the 21 Hen. 8, 1529, and must therefore have been printed long before the present edition. Tanner speaks of this edition as being in 24to. See different editions of it, art. 21, 27, 38, 39, and 63. See some extracts from this work in art. 63.

24. A SHORT INSTRUCTION TO ALL ESTATES OF MEN IN THE WORLD. At the end of the book: AN EXHORTATION TO ACCUSTOMABLE SWEARERS. THE MANNER OF SAYING GRACE AFTER THE DOCTRYNE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

24to. 1543.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*] "again Lond. 1575." From the confused arrangement of Tanner, it is rather doubtful, whether he means that these three tracts were printed together in these two years, or each separately. Bale mentions the third, in his ed. 1548, as "Actiones Gratiarum ad mensam dicendæ." It appears to have been printed again with some other tracts in 1547. See art. 27. For the second see art. 27, 41, and 45, and for the three together, see art. 59.

25. "ASHORTE RECAPITULACION OR ABRIGEMENT OF ERASMUS ENCHIRIDION, brefeley comprehendinge the summe and contentes therof. Very Profitable and necessary to be rede of all trew Christen men. Drawne out by M. Couerdale Anno. 1545 Timo. ij. Suffer afflitions, as goode and feathfull sowdyars of Jesu Christ. ij. Job. vij. Syeng the lyffe of man, ys but Abattell or werfare apon the erathe." Colophon: "¶ *Jmprinted at Ausborch by Adam Anonimus Jn the moneth of May. Anno.* 1545."

16mo. 1545.

[*Copy in Sion College.*] Herbert had a copy. The one in Sion College is on yellow paper. On the reverse of the title two texts, "Ephes. vi.—ij. Cor. x" Then "The summe of the prologe." And then "The summe" of the different chapters. Finishes on the reverse of E.iiij. in eights.

The following is an extract from "The summe of the .ij. chapter." "Touchinge the heithan Poetes and Philosophers, yf we taist of them "measurably, so that we waxe not olde ner dye in them, they are not "utterly to be disalowed. Yea what soeuer they teach welle, ought "nomore to be despysed, then was the counsail of Jethro whom Moses "folowed. As for such as wryte vnclenly, we ought either not to touch "thē, or els not to loke to farre in thē. To beshorte, al maner of "lerninge shulde be taisted in due season ād measure, with good

" iudgmēt and discretiō, vnder the correctiō of christes doctryne: so " that the wisdome of god be aboue al other, oure best beloued, oure " doue, oure swete hert:"—

The following from " The .v. Chapter." " Now as we are bound " sureli to know what mociōs we be most enclined vnto, so ought " we to understōd, that thorou right reasō (which is the power of gods " holy sprete) the most violent of thē maye either be refrayned, or els " turned in to vertue Trueth it is, that as some mā is more prone " vnto vertue thē some, either bi reasō of the influēce of the celestial " bodies, or els of oure progenitours, or els of the bringinge vp in youth, " ar of the complexiō of the body: Euen so some vices folowe the " countrees, some the cōplexiō of the body, some the age of mā, some " be appropriated vnto kynde. And some tyme an euel disease of the " mā is recōpēced with another certayne cōtrary good gifte or propertie. " As for the vices that are nighest vnto vertues, we must amēde thē, ād " turne thē in to that vertue which they most nighe resēble. For let a " man that is soone prouoked vnto anger, refrayne his mynde, ād he " shalbe nothing faynt herted, but bolde yea and fre of speach without " dissimulaciō. The nygarde, by the exercyse of reason, shalbe thrifftie " and a good husband: The flatrer, shal thorow moderacion, be curteys " and pleasaunt: The obstinate maye be constant: Solemnesse maye be " turned to grauite: One ful of foelishe toyes maye be come a good " cōpanyon. But in any wise must we beware, that we put not the " name of vertue to anye maner of vice, as to cal crueltie, iustice: " envie, zeale. The waye thē to felicite is first to know oure " selues:" &c.

26. "THE DEFENCE OF A CERTAYNE POORE CHRISTEN MAN: Who els shuld haue bene condemned by the Popes lawe. Written in the hye Allmaynes tonge by a right excellent and noble Prynce, and trāslated into Englishe by Myles Couerdale." Colophon: "*Printed at Nurenbergh, And translated owt of douche in to Englishe by Myles Couerdale, in the yeare of our Lorde* M.D.XLV. *in the laste of Octobre.*"

16mo. 1545.

[*Herbert*, p. 1559.] A copy in his possession. Contains E, in eights.

27. 1. THE CHRISTIAN RULE OR STATE OF ALL THE WORLD, from the highest to the lowest.

2. THE CHRISTIAN STATE OF MATRYMONYE, wherein husbands and wyfes may learn to keep house together with love,

3. A CHRISTIAN EXHORTATION TO CUSTOMABLE SWARERS.
4. THE MANNER OF SAYENGE GRACE, &c.
5. THE OLD FAITH: an evident probacion out of the holy scrypture, that the christian faith hath endured from the beginnynge of the worlde.

12mo. 1547.

[*Berkenhout Biog. Lit.* p. 133, 4.] In black letter, printed together. Again, he says, in 1593, 4to. For the first, see art. 40; for the second, see art. 21, 23, 38, 39, and 63; for the third, see art. 41 and 45; for the third and fourth together, see art. 24 and 59; and for the fifth, see the 20th, and the following art.

28. THE OLD FAITH, an evident Probation out of the H. Scripture, that the Christen Fayth hath endured sens the beginnyng of the world. [A translation from H. Bullinger.] Lond. 1547, 8vo.

8vo. 1547.

[*Biblioth. Bodleiana.*] A copy in the Bodleian. Also another of a reprint, Lond. 1624. See art. 20, and the preceding article.

29. "A FAITHFUL AND TRUE PROGNOSTICATION VPON THE YEARE M.CCCCC.XLVIII, and perpetually after to the worldes end, gathered out of the prophesies and scriptures of God," &c. "Translated out of high Almaine by Miles Couerdale."

8vo. 1548.

[*Herbert*, p. 747.] Classed under the printer, Richard Kele's works. See art. 7 and 30.

30. "A FAYTHFULL AND TRUE PROGNOSTICATION VPON THE YEARE M.ccccc.xlix. and perpetually after, to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophesies and scryptures of God, by the experience and practyse of his workes, very comfortable for all Christen hertes; devided into seven chapters." Translated out of high Almaine by Miles Couerdale.

8vo. 1549.

[*Herbert MS. quoted in Dibdin's Ames*, vol. iv. p. 303.] Dr. Dibdin says, that Herbert seems to have had a copy of this edition. "Printed by Ri. Kele," according to Maunsell's catal. p. 39. Dr. Watt speaks of a copy, without date, in 12mo. Tanner mentions a spiritual calendar, as printed with this edition of 1549. Perhaps the same as that mentioned in art. 62. See art. 7 and 29.

31. "THE NEW TESTAMENT, after the translation of M. Coverdale: *printed by 'Wylliam Tilly, dwellynge in St. Anne and Agnes parishe at Aldrishgate.'* 1549."

4to. 1549.

[*Herbert.* p. 764.] "From a copy in the possession of Dr. Gifford." This is all the account that Herbert gives of this edition, and it appears he was mistaken in supposing it to be of Coverdale's translation; since on reference to the copy to which Herbert alluded, then in the possession of Dr. Gifford, and now with the rest of his books, deposited in the Baptist Museum, Bristol, it is clearly ascertained to be of Tyndal's translation. The title page is wanting, but at the end is: "Jmprinted at London wythin: Aldrechgate in the parisshe of Sayncte Anne and Agnes by Wyllyam Tylle in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1548 Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." Opposite to this Dr. Gifford has written; "Wylliam Tilly MDXLIX. dwellynge in St. Ann and Agnes Parishe at Aldrishgate. Palmer 384."

The mistake of Herbert probably arose from this; that some one has written at the commencement of the volume, "Coverdale's Testament. See Palmer's History of Printing, p. 384, and Ames's Typ. Ant. p. 273." This he no doubt copied; Dr. Gifford, however, has subjoined to this paragraph the following remarks: "If the writer of the above had "compared this Testament with Coverdale's, he would have been fully "convinced that it is quite a different Translation, e. g. Matth. i. 18.; "Matth. xxviii. 1; Luke i. 1. Besides its having a great many things "which Coverdale's has not, e. g. all Tindal's prologes to the Epistles, "(and probably it had those to the gospels also at the beginning,) the "marginal references and notes, as well as the same translation almost "word for word, as Tyndal's 2nd edition, 1534, except that on 1 Jno. iv. "Faith is the 1st. commandment and Love the 2nd. In this it is Faith "that is the 2nd. and Love the 1st. as in the edition, 1536, mentioned "by Lewis p. 85, which perhaps was the edition from which this was "printed." Dr. Gifford then refers to several epistles and gospels in Tindal's 1534, such as on St. Andrew's day, St. Thomas the apostle, &c. all which he says are left out of this, as in the later editions of the Great Bible.

So much for the proof that the text is not of Coverdale's translation, now with regard to whether it was ever put forth as such. In the library of Lea Wilson, Esq. is a copy of an edition of Tyndall's New Testament, 4to. printed by Wyllyam Tylle, the title bearing the date of 1549, and the imprint at the end, that of 1548. Dr. Adam Clarke had also a copy. Now although it is quite possible that the same printer

should in the same year, in the same size, have printed both Coverdale's and Tyndale's translations of the New Testament; yet as Herbert has not mentioned at all this edition of Tyndale's testament, and as the copy he mentions is clearly not of Coverdale's translation, we may fairly presume that the whole is an error, arising from the MS. note in the beginning of the volume, alluded to in the above account. And as a further proof that the Baptist Museum copy is of the same edition as those in the libraries of Mr. Wilson and Dr. Clarke, out of several similar instances the two following striking coincidences may be mentioned; that in Philemon A. the word Jesus is printed twice over in both; "the Lorde Jesus Jesus Christe"; and in Revel. ii. B. fourteen lines are also printed twice over. For the first intimation that Herbert was mistaken in his description of this book, and for many of the foregoing particulars, the author is indebted to the kindness of George Offor, Esq. A description of the copy in the Baptist Museum, with Dr. Gifford's notes, was obligingly furnished by the Rev. T. S. Crisp.

32. "THE SECOND TOME OR VOLUME OF THE PARAPHRASE OF ERASMUS vpon the newe testament: conteynyng the Epistles of S. Paul, and other the Apostles. Wherunto is added a Paraphrase vpon the Reuelacion of S. John. *Jmpriented at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the Sunne by Edwarde Whitchurche, the xvi. daye of August. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* Anno do. 1549." fŏl. 1549.

[*Copy in Sion College.*] Herbert had a copy, p. 545. This volume begins with a dedication to the King in behalf of "the Translatours and Printer of this right fruteful volume," and signed "Your Maiesties most humble and faithfull subiecte Myles Couerdall." In this dedication there is the following passage:

"Your highnesse, as high and chiefe Admirall of the great nauy of "the lord of hoostes amongst vs, Principall Captaine and gouernour of "vs all vnder hym, the moste noble ruler of his shippe, euen our most "comfortable Noah, whom the eternal god hath chosē to be the bringer "of vs vnto rest and quietnesse in him: your most Royall Maiestie "(J say) going before in your Jmperiall office, ℭ hauyng after you your "most intierly beloued vncle the Lord Protectours grace with the "residue of your highnes worthy counsailours, your nobilitie, your "clargie, your deputies and officers in all estates, with al other youre "louyng subiectes: hath set vp your sayle already, and is so well "forward on your most godlie iourney (the gracious winde of the holy "gost seruing you)" &c.

This dedication is on two leaves. The leaves of the epistles, &c. are

numbered separately, perhaps because, as we may learn from the epistle of John Olde, one of the translatours, this work was required to be published by a certain time, and therefore for expedition's sake may have been printed at different presses, or published as fast as it was printed. On the back of the last leaf is a cut of the woman clothed with the sun, &c. as in Revelations, ch. xii. Coverdale seems only to have translated the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians; the rest by others. See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 30.

33. "THE NEW TESTAMENT. Diligently Translated by Myles Coverdale and conferred with the translacion of Willyam Tyndale. with the necessary Concordances truly alleged. An. MD.XLIX." In a wood-cut border. "Rein Wolf" with his rebus, at the bottom.

[*In the possession of the Duke of Sussex.*] His Royal Highness's copy contains only the 1st part. For the above copy of the title page, and for the following description, the author is indebted to the kindness of George Offor, Esq. "On the back of the title is an almanac for nine "years, 1549 to 1557. Then a Calendar, with a neat wood-cut to each "month, six leaves. For to knowe in what signe the Sonne is, &c. one "page, reverse blank. Title, 1549. On back, To the Reader—Marke "good gentle Reader. Prologue. The Grace of the Lorde Jesus "Christe &c. five pages. Map of the Land of Promes. Ages from "Adam vnto Christ, cut of the creation of Eve, five pages. A godly "prayer for all suche as doo studye and reade the Newe testament, one "page, with reverse blank. Mathew commences with a wood-cut on "A. j. End of Jhon, a map. The Journey of Sainct Paule the Apostle. "Acts begins with a neat wood-cut on A.a.i. At the end of the Acts— "Of Tymes, 4 pages. Finis. This edition is a totally distinct one from "that in the Lambeth library. [See the following article.] It is the "text of Coverdale, with various readings in the margin from Tyndale's "revised translation. These various readings are 499—of these 499 "*texts* compared with the present authorized version of the New Testa- "ment, 195 agree with Tyndale, 120 with Coverdale, and 184 do not "agree with either."

34. "*THE NEWE TESTAMENT.* Diligently translated by *Miles Coverdale*, and conferred with the translation of Wylliam Tyndale. With the necessary Concordances truly alleged. An. M.D.L." Colophon: "Imprinted in London. at the signe of the Brasen Serpent in Paules Churche yarde, by Reynolde Wolfe. Anno 1550. In June."

8vo. 1550.

[*Herbert, MS. quoted in Dibdin's Ames*, vol. iv. p. 13-5.] The above title in red and black. The red is marked in the above by Italic type. In a compartment with the figure of a man at the top, and at the bottom a shield, in which is a serpent, wreathing round a pole, standing on a globe; the shield is supported by a fox and a wolf—over the fox's back, in capitals, is the word 'Rein,' and over the back of the wolf, the word 'Wolf.' In the next page an almanac for nine years, in red and black. Then a calendar, also in red and black. Then follows: "For to know in what Sign the Sonne is,—to find the newe moone." with the following note: "In the New Testamente the Evangelistes have rekened the hours after the manner of the Babilonians, begynnyng the day at the rising of the sonne." After "The ende of the Actes of the Apostles, written by St. Luke, which was present at the doyinges of them." is the following paragraph, "In as muche as certayn leaues being here "vacant, and in fillinge the same, wolde with some convenient thinge "profite the Reader, I haue therfore thought good to adde hereunto, a "table describing thorder and tymes of things touched by Sainct "Luke in the Actes of the Apostles, as ensueth." Then comes "The Order of Tymes." which is a short kind of chronological table, containing some of the principal matters, treated of in the Acts. After the Apocalypse, comes a table of 9 pages, "By this table, shall ye "fynde the Epistles and Gospels, for the Sondaies and other festiuall "dayes." &c. On the last page is a wood-cut of the serpent twining round a pole held by two hands issuing from the clouds, the usual device of this printer.

A very full description of this edition will be found in Dibdin's ed. of the Typ. Ant., in a letter from Mr. J. Thorpe to Dr. Ducarel, from which the above description is taken. It is briefly described by Maunsell and Ames, and also somewhat more particularly by Lewis. Transl. of Bible, p. 183. Copies: Lambeth: J. Thorpe, Esq., and Lea Wilson, Esq. This is not the same edition as the former. Cotton says it is in 12mo.

35. "*THE NEWE* TESTAMENT *faythfully* translated by *Miles Couerdal. Anno* 1550." Then a wood-engraving of our Saviour within a circle. Underneath: "*Roma. xv. a.* Whatsoeuer thinges are wrytten afore tyme, are wrytten for oure learnynge."

16mo. 1550.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] Without name of place or printer. Contains fol. CCCCXLVI. in Roman cap. besides An Almanac in black and red, 12 pages, and "¶ A Table to fynde the Epistles and Gospels" for "the Sondaies," and another for "the Sayntes dayes," 9 pages. A page containing six texts. And a table of contents to the "Gospel of

S Mathew." 6 pages. These, together with the title-page, are in a different type to the rest of the volume, which is of a secretary Gothic, and was most likely printed abroad, with only a title-page, and without any preliminary pieces, as the first page of the text commences with the signature A ij, also numbered fol. II., so that only one leaf, and that most likely the title, preceded it. There are no tables of contents to any of the other books. It contains signature K k vi, in eights. There are references in the margin, and a few notes. A full page contains 26 lines. Cotton alone mentions this edition, and remarks, that the translation more resembles Tyndal's, than Coverdale's.

36. "¶ THE WHOLE BYBLE. THAT IS THE HOLY SCRIPTURE OF THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT faythfully translated into Englyshe by Myles Couerdale, and newly ouer sene and correcte. M.D.L. Pray for vs that the worde of God maye haue free passage ℭ be glorified. ii. Tes. iii. *Prynted for Andrewe Hester, dwellynge in Paules churchyard at the sygne of the whyte horse, and are there to be solde.*" In black and red, in an architective compartment. Beneath: "*Set forth with the Kynges mooste gracious licence.*" At the end: "To the honoure and prayse of God, was this Byble prynted and fynished in the yeare of oure Sauoure Jesu Christ M.D.L. the xvj. daye in the moneth of August."

4to. 1550.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] Copies: Bodleian; St. Paul's; Lambeth; Brazen Nose Coll.; Oriel Coll.; E. Jacob, Esq.; Mr. Herbert. This Bible is a reprint of that of 1535. Directly after the title-page comes a leaf with "¶ The bokes of the hole Byble how they, are "named in Englyshe and Latyn," &c. On the reverse of this, the dedication "✠ Unto the moost victorious Prince ℭ our moost gracious "soueraigne lorde, kynge Edwarde the syxte kynge of Englonde "Fraunce, and of Jrlonde, ℭc. Defendour of the Fayth, and vnder "God the chefe and supreme heade of the Church of Englonde. "¶ The riyght ℭ iust administracyon of the lawes that God gaue vnto "Moses and vnto Josua: the testimonye of faythfulnesse y^{t} God gaue "of Daui: the plenteous abundaunce of wysdome that God gaue vnto "Salomon: the lucky and prosperous age with the multipliacyon of "seede whiche god gaue vnto Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be geuen "vnto you moost gracious Prynce." This dedication is the same, with very trifling alterations, as that of the Bible of 1535, mutatis mutandis, king Edward being substituted for king Henry;—on 4 pages. Then

the prologe: "Myles Couerdale, to the Christen Reader." 5 pages. This seems to be a verbatim reprint of that of 1535. Then "*The kalender.*" and "*An Almanacke for. xiiii. yeares*" beginning at "M.D.l." in red and black—4 pages. Then commences "The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis." Beneath this title, and between it and the text is a wood-cut, representing God taking Eve out of Adam's side. The Old Testament continues without any break to "Fo. CCCCXCIIII" when the New Testament, without any title-page, begins a new set of numbers, and ends on the reverse of "Fo. CXXI" Then "The Table of the Sondayes." three pages, and a part of a fourth; when commences "The Table for the Holy dayes." which ends on the fifth page.

This edition is in the same sort of type as that of 1535, only smaller and sharper. It is generally supposed to have been printed at the same place as the edition of 1535, and that the preliminary pieces, which, as in the edition of 1535, are of a different type to that of the body of the work, may very possibly have been printed in London. Herbert says, p. 1568, that this Bible is mentioned in Skipton's Travels, among Churchill's collection, vol. vi. p. 462, ed. 1746, as "printed at Zurich, by Christopher Forshower, 16 August, 1550." Lewis, p. 183, says there was another edition of this same Bible printed in this year, by Edw. Whitchurch; but Herbert, who had a copy in his possession, says that Mr. Lewis was mistaken in supposing it was of Coverdale's translation, p. 546. Dr. Watt, too, besides treating this edition as if it were a reprint of the Old Testament only, speaks of *another edition*, "Lond. *fol.* 1550," which he says also contained only the books of the Old Testament. The copy in the Museum is a fine one, and quite perfect. That in St. Paul's wants the title-page, and the tables and colophon at the end. Mr. Herbert's wanted both the title-page and the table of the Epistles and Gospels with the colophon at the end, p. 568.

This edition was put forth again in 1553, with a reprinted title-page, and preliminary pieces. See art. 42.

37. "A SPIRITUAL AND MOST PRECIOUS PERLE," &c. as in art. 58.

"A MOST FRUITFUL TREATISE OF BEHAVIOUR IN THE DANGER OF DEATH."

12mo. 1550.

[*Herbert*, p. 787.] Classed under the books of John Cawood. This edition, we are told, had a preface by Edw. Duke of Somerset, dated 6 May, 1550, who caused it to be imprinted, "after he in his trouble "had felt the commodity of it; which was, that other might reape the "like commodity by the same." Singleton's preface to a subsequent

edition. Herbert, p. 745. In the Duke's own preface he says: "Jn our "greate trouble, which of late dyd happen vnto vs (as al the worlde "doothe know) when it pleased God for a tyme to attempt vs with his "scourge, ℭ to proue if we loued him: Jn readyng this boke we did "finde great comforte, &c.—And hereupon we have required hym, of "whom we had the copy of thys boke, to sette it forth in prynt." This preface referred to the first of these two works; the second, although by the same author, and usually printed together, being quite a separate work, p. 787. Ames and Palmer were mistaken in their description of this edition. See art. 44 and 58. For the second of the above titles, see art. 49.

38. "THE CHRISTEN STATE OF MATRYMONYE, wherein housebandes and wyues mayel erne to kepe house together wyth loue. ¶ The original of holy wedlock: whā, wher, how, and of whom it was instituted ℭ ordeined: what it is: how it ought to proceade: what be the occasiōs, frute ℭ commodities thereof. Contrarye wyse: how shameful ℭ horrible a thīg whoredom and aduoutry is: How one ought also to chose him a mete ℭ conuenient spouse to kepe and increase the mutual loue, trueth and dewty of wedloke: and how maryed folkes should bringe vp theyr children in the feare of God. Set forthe by Myles Couerdale. ¶ Wedlock is to be had in honoure amonge all men, and the bed vndefyled. As for whore kepers and aduouterers, God shall iudge them. Hebre. xiii." At the end; "Anno incarnationis Christi. M.D.LII. ¶ *Jmprinted at London by Nycholas Hyll for Abraham Vele.*"

16mo. 1552.

[*Herbert*, p. 709, 10.] He had a copy in his possession. "In this edition," says he, "Becon's preface is omitted; and the 7th, 8th, and 25th chapters have been added. Contains Fol. xci, and a table at the end." He refers back to art. 23. Some copies, he says, have "for Robert Toy;" others "for Rychard Kele." See the following article.

39. "THE CHRISTEN STATE OF MATRYMONYE, wherein housebandes and wyues maye lerne to kepe house together wyth loue.—Set forthe by Myles Couerdale." At the end; "M.D.LII. ¶ *Jmprinted—by Nycholas Hyll*" *for Robert Toy.*

16mo. 1552.

[*Herbert*, p. 587.] Herbert says: "The same work seems also to have been printed for Rich. Keele." Dr. Watt says it was printed in folio, in 8vo. besides 16mo. in this year. There is a copy in the

Bodleian in fol. and another in 8vo. Tanner mentions another edition of it in 1575, in 24to., and speaks of this edition of 1552, as being in 24to. also. In another part, under the head of "Original of Wedlock or matrimony," he says, "in 8vo, 1552." See the preceding article; and for different editions see art. 21, 23, 27 and 63.

40. "THE CHRISTEN RULE, OR STATE OF THE WORLD from the hyghest to the lowest; and how every man should lyue to please God in his callynge."

16mo. 1552.

[*Herbert*, p. 710.] He does not state this work, which he classes under the printer, Nicholas Hill's name, to be Coverdale's; but Tanner and Berkenhout assert that it is. Tanner says it was printed before with the Christen state of Matrimony, 1541, 8vo. See art. 27.

41. "A CHRISTEN EXHORTATION TO CUSTOMABLE SWEARERS."

16mo. 1552.

[*Herbert*, p. 710.] In the possession of Dr. Lort. Classed under the works of Nicholas Hill. Herbert does not state the work to be Coverdale's. He refers to art. 59. See also art. 24, 27, 45 and 59.

42. "THE WHOLE BYBLE, THAT IS THE HOLYE SCRIPTURE, OF THE OLDE AND NEW TESTAMENT, faithfullye translated into Englyshe by Myles Couerdale, and newly ouersene and correcte. M.D.LJJJ. ij. Tessa. iij. ¶ Praye for vs, that the worde of God may haue free passage and be glorifyed. ¶ *Prynted at London by Rycharde Jugge, dwellynge at the North dore of Powles, at the sygne of the Byble.*" This in a wood-cut compartment. Underneath, "*Set forth with the Kinges moost gratious licence.*"

4to. 1553.

[*Copy in St. Paul's.*] Copies: King's Library, British Museum; Balliol Coll.; Exeter Coll.; Dr. Coombe; Bapt. Mus. Bristol; Mr. Offor. The title is in wood-cut compartments; the one at the bottom contains the printer's initials "R. I." in a medallion, with the motto DESVPER OMNIA. After the title-page comes, "The bokes of the whole "Byble howe they are named" &c. Then the dedication "¶ Unto "the moost victorious Prince, and our most gracious soueraine Lorde "Kynge Edward the syxt, Kynge of England, Fraunce, and of Jre-"lande &c. Defendoure of the fayth, and vnder God the chiefe and "supreme heade of the Churche of Englande." 4 pages. Then "A "prologue to the Reader." 5 pages. Then "The Table and Kalender

"expressynge the ordre of the Psalmes and Lessons," &c. 4 pages. Then "¶ *An Almanacke for* xix, yeares." beginning at "M.d.lii." and "The kalender," both in red and black. In all, 8 pages. The text is the same as that in the edition of 1550. So is "The Table of the "Sondayes," at the end, and the colophon. It is in fact, part of the edition of 1550, with a new title-page and preliminary pieces, as may be seen on comparing the two together. The St. Paul's copy has the title-page, but is imperfect at the end, breaking off at the 18th chapter of Revelation; whilst that in the King's Library has no title-page, but is in other respects quite perfect. The latter has on this account been classed as of the year 1550, because in the last page is "To the "honoure and prayse of God, was this Byble prynted and fynished in "the yeare of oure Sauoure Jesu Christ M.D.L. the xvj. daye in the "moneth of August." the same as in the former edition; but it is clearly of the re-issue of 1553, for the dedication, prologue, &c. are all new composed, and the almanac for nineteen years commences with the year 1553. The only reason that can be imagined for the leaving in of the date at the end is, that as it formed part of the original impression in the angular Swiss, it could not well be altered. At any rate, the matter need not surprise us, when we look at the inconsistency between the title-page and the colophon in the Bible of 1535, see page 68, and when we can find Prayer-books in our own day, and printed at the Clarendon press, where King William and Queen Adelaide are mentioned as King and Queen, and the date still remains in the title page, 1828. The following is a specimen of the variations in the preliminary pieces.

EDITION OF 1550.

"¶ The bokes of the hole Byble
how they, are named in Englyshe and
Latyn, and how longe they are
wrytten in the allegations."

EDITION OF 1553.

"The bokes of the whole Byble
howe they are named in Englyshe and latin, and howe
longe they are wrytten in the allegations."

Herbert had a copy of this re-issue of 1553.

43. "CERTAIN MOST GODLY, FRUITFUL, AND COMFORTABLE LETTERS of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloodye persecution here within this Realme, gaue their lyues for the

defence of Christes holy gospel: written in the tyme of theyr affliction and cruell imprysonment. Though they suffer payne amonge men, yet is their hope full of immortalitie. Sap. 3. *Imprinted at London by Iohn Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, beneath Saint Martines.* 1564. *Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.*" 4to. 1564.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] The above title in a wood-cut compartment. On the reverse a wood-cut representing the burning of the martyrs. Above it, these two texts: "For thy sake are we put to death "euery day, Psal. 44. And are coũted as shepe appoynted to be "slayne. Roma. 8." At the bottom, these four others: "How long O "Lorde? Psalm. 13. Behold, I come shortlye. Apoc. 22. Oh come "Lorde Iesu. Apoc. 22. He will come, and not tary. Abac. 2." Contains 689 pages, besides "A Table of the letters conteyned in thys "booke, declaryng by whome and to whome they were written," A copy in the Bodleian Library. Herbert had an imperfect one in his possession.

These letters are introduced with an address from "Myles Couerdale "vnto the Christian Reader," in which he sets forth how good a thing it is to read of the behaviour of those who are God's servants, instead of occupying our time with lying legends of false saints, or the trifling toys and forged fables of corrupted writers; and also how much easier we may arrive at an intimate knowledge of those we read of, by means of letters, than by any other species of writing.

For "that noble Clarke Erasmus Roterodame, coñendyng the booke "of the Epistles or letters which S. Augustine dyd write, sayeth thus: "by some of Augustines bokes we may perceaue, what maner of man "he was being an infant in Christ. By other some, we may knowe "what maner a one he was beiug a young man, and what he was being "an olde man. But by thys onely booke (meaning the booke of the "Epistles or letters) thou shalt knowe whole Augustyne altogether. "And why doth S. Hierome or Erasmus saye thus? No doubt, euen "because that in such writynges, as in a cleare glasse, we maye see and "beholde, not onely what plentifull furniture and store of heauenly "grace, wisedome, knowledge, vnderstanding, fayth, loue, hope, zeale, "pacience, mekenes, obedience, with the worthy fruites thereof, "almighty god had bestowed vpon the same his most deare children: "but also what a fatherlye care he euer hadde vnto them: how his "mightye hand defended them: howe hys prouidence kept watch and "warde ouer them: howe his louyng eye loked vnto them: howe hys "gracious eare heard their prayers: how he was alwaye myndfull of

" them, neuer forgat them, neither fayled them, nor forsoke them: how " the armes of his mercye were streytched oute to embrace them, when " soeuer they faythfullye tourned vnto hym: howe valiaunte also and " stronge in spirite, howe ioyfull vnder the crosse, howe quyet and " cheerefull in trouble he made them: what victorye of their enemyes, " what deliueraunce oute of bondes and captiuitie, what health from " sicknes, what recouerye from plagues, what plentye from scarcenesse: " to bee shorte, what helpe at all nede and necessity he gaue and " bestowed vpon them."

For, says he, if God had not thus watched over them and strengthened them, how else was it possible, that men undergoing the afflictions which they did, " could be so patiēt, so quiet of minde. so cherefull " and merye in aduersitie and straite captiuitie: some beyng throwne " into dungeons, vgsome holes, darke, lothesome and stinking corners: " other some lying in fetters and chaynes, and loaded wyth so many " irons that they could scarcely styre: some tied in the stocks wyth " their heeles vpwarde: some hauyng their legges in the stockes & " their neckes chayned to the walle wyth gorgets of iron: some both " handes and legges in the stockes at once: sometimes both hands in, " and both legges out: sometimes y^e^ right hand with the left leg, or " the left hand with the right legge fastened in the stockes wyth " manicles and fetters, hauying neither stoole nor stone to sitte on, to " ease their wofull bodies withall: some standing in most painful " engines of iron with their bodies doubled: some whypped & scourged, " beatē with roddes, & buffeted with fistes: some hauing their handes " burned with a cādel to trie their patience, or force thē to relente: " some hunger pyned & most miserably famished."

And these letters and writings, he adds, we have to praise God for, who has himself preserved and brought them to light, no doubt that we may be taught thereby to follow their example, and "end this our short " course, to his glory, to y^e^ edifyeng of his church, to y^e^ cōfusion of " Satan, to y^e^ hinderaunce of al false doctrine, & to our own eternal " cōfort in the same our lord & alone Sauiour Jesus Christ. To whō " wyth the father and y^e^ holy ghost be all honour, al glory, al thankes " and all praise, world without ende. Amen."

This address occupies three leaves; on the back of the last is a list of, " Faultes escaped in the pryntyng." It may be found reprinted at length in the 6th volume of the works of the British Reformers. A reprint also of the whole work, with introductory remarks by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, has just been published; but we regret, (although after all this is but a matter of taste) that the language in it has been modernized. Strype says that this work was printed in 1563, Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p.

106, but he very likely alludes to this edition of 1564, as he is not very particular with regard to dates.

44. A SPIRITUAL AND MOST PRECIOUS PEARLE, 1569. *Printed by Hugh Singleton.*

16mo. 1569.

[*Herbert*, p. 741.] Maunsell's Catal. p. 39. Herbert refers to art. 58.

45. "EXHORTATION TO ACCUSTOMABLE SWEARERS, also what a right and lawfull oath is; when and before whom it ought to be. Reprint. by Iohn Awdley. 1575. in 8vo. by Miles Couerdale."

8vo. 1575.

[*Maunsell's Catal.* p. 39.] Confirmed by Ames, p. 310. Tanner says this was the second edition, and that the first was in 1543, 24to. "Pr. pr. 'In the Lord's vineyard, dear friend.'" See art. 24, 27, 41, and 59.

46. "THE HOPE OF THE FAITHFULL, declaringe breefely & clearely the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ past, and of our true essentiall bodies to come: and playnely confuting the chiefe Errors that have sprong therof out of the Scripture and Doctors. With an euident probatiō that there is an eternall life of the faithfull, & euerlasting damnation of the wicked. Translated by Miles Couerdale out of high Almaine." At the end: "*Printed at London, in Crede Lane—at the signe of the Golden Tunne. Anno* 1579. *Cum priuilegio solum.*"

16mo. 1579.

[*Dibdin's Ames*, vol. iv. p. 293, 4.] Printer, Hugh Singleton. Contains Q. in eights. The last leaf blank. At the end Singleton's rebus. In Herbert's MS. additions, he says, "I have an edition of this Hope "of the Faithfull, wanting the title, which contains only P 7, in "eights, the back page of which is blank, and has another blank leaf; "so that it has neither rebus nor colophon. The size of the page 3⅛, "by 2¼ inches, including the margin." This copy is now in the possession of George Offor, Esq. The pages are numbered in Arabic figures, 233, besides the table of contents at the end. Strype says there was an edition of this work printed in 1554, and he gives the following description of it:

"The contents of this book were according as they are set down in the first chapter, thus beginning: 'Considering that by the Evangelists 'and by the Apostles, there is nothing written more diligently, than

'touching the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, my purpose is 'somewhat more largely to talk of the same, and of the glorious as-'cension of his body into heaven. Item, Of the resurrection and Ascen-'sion of our own bodies; of the damnation of unbelievers; and of 'the hope and eternal life of the blessed.' Which subjects are indeed, in this book, discoursed of closely and well, first by apt places in Scripture, and then by arguments, without any reflection on the Popish religion. And I verily believe the work to be Coverdale's." Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 151-2.

The following is an extract from the copy of this work in the possession of George Offor, Esq. Speaking of the punishment of the wicked, p. 178. "As for the maner, fashion, and measure of the "damnaciō, and how great the torment of hell is vpon vnbeleuers: J "suppose no tunge is able to expresse the terryble and vgesome payne "and punishment therof. For Virgile the olde Poete, thoughe he "were an heithen man, yet whan he had recited diuers and sondri "vices, and what punishment is ordeyned for thē of god, he sayd in "hys sixte boke of the Eneydes.

"An hundreth tunges,
"And mouthes as many,
"Although J had,
"Wyth eloquence hie:
"And though my voyce
"All yron were
"Jn strength: yet could
"J not declare
"The vices of men,
"Nor yet can tell,
"What paynes therfore
"They suffer in hell."

It was written in German by Otho Wermylierus.

47. "A GODLY TREATISE, WHEREIN IS PROUED THE TRUE IUSTIFICATION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN, TO COME FREELY OF THE MERCIE OF GOD. And also how good workes ought to bee done, & what be true good works indeede. Whereunto is ioyned a conference betweene the lawe and the Gospell: with a Dialogue of the faithfull and vnfaithfull. Translated out of high Almaine by Miles Couerdale." Reprinted by Hugh Singleton, 1579.-16mo. 1579.

[*Maunsell's Catal.* p. 63.] The author was Otho Wermylierus.

48. THAT JUSTIFICATION IS FROM GOD'S FREE MERCY, and not from good works. From the German.

16mo. 1579.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*] No doubt the same as the foregoing article.

49. "THE BOOKE OF DEATH, or, howe a Christian man ought to behaue himselfe in the danger of Death, and how they are to be comforted, whose deare frendes are departed out of this world. translated out of high Dutch, by Miles Couerdale." printed by Hugh Singleton. 1579.

16mo. 1579.

[*Maunsell's Catal.* p. 42.] The author was Otho Wermylierus. See art. 37.

50. "FRUITFULL LESSONS VPON THE PASSION, BURIALL, RESURRECTION, ASCENSION, AND OF THE SENDING OF THE HOLY GHOST: Gathered out of the foure Euangelists: with a plain exposition of the same. By Miles Couerdall. John 14; 6. I am the waie," &c. Thos. Scarlet's large device. "*London printed by* him, 1593."

4to. 1593.

[*Herbert*, p. 1165.] A copy in his possession. "Contains Q q 3, in fours, besides the preface. Licensed." Herbert, p. 1165. Ames speaks of an edition in 1576, by this printer, but as Herbert observes, this could not be, since Scarlet was not even bound apprentice so early as that. Tanner mentions this book as printed at Marp. 1540-1547, in 8vo. besides this edition in 1593. "Pr. pr. 'Since our human imperfections.'" Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.

WORKS WITHOUT DATE.

51. "GOOSTLY PSALMES AND SPIRITUALL SONGES drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as love to rejoyse in God and his worde. Psalm cxlvi. O prayse the Lorde, for it is a good thinge to synge prayses unto oure God. Collos. iii. Teach ℭ exhorte your awne selves with Psalmes ℭ Hymns ℭ spirituall Songes. Jaco. v. Yf eny of you be mery, let him singe Psalmes." Colophon: "¶ *Imprynted by me Johan Gough, cum privilegio Regali.*"

4to.

[*Cotton*, p. 157.] On the first page is this address.

"To the boke."

"Go lytle boke, get the acquaintaunce
"Amonge the lovers of Gods worde
"Geve them occasyon the same to avaunce
"And to make theyr songes of the Lorde
"That they may thrust under the borde
"All other balettes of fylthynes
"And that we all with one accorde
"May geve ensample of godlynes

"Go lytle boke amonge mens chyldren
"And get the to theyr companye
"Teach them to synge y^{e} cōmaundementes ten
"And other balettes of Gods glorye
"Be not ashamed I warande the
"Though thou be rude in songe and ryme
"Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
"In godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

On the reverse, "Myles Coverdale Unto the Christen reader. It greveth "me (most deare Reader) whā I consydre the unthankfulnesse of men," &c. &c. "Yee wolde God that oure mynstrels had none other thynge "to playe upō, nether our carters ℭ plowmen other thynge to whistle "upon, save Psalmes, hymnes, and soch godly songes as David is occu- "pied with all. And yf women syttynge at theyr rockes, or spynnynge "at the wheles, had none other songes to passe theyr tyme withall, thā "soch as Moses sister, Elchanahs wife, Debora, and Mary the mother "of Christ have songe before thē, they shulde be better occupied, then "with hey nony nony, hey troly loly, ℭ soch lyke fantasies.—Therfore to "geve oure youth of Englonde some occasion to chaunge theyr foule "ℭ corrupte balettes into swete songes and spirituall Hymnes of Gods "honoure, and for theyr owne consolacion in hym, I have here (good "reader) set out certayne cōfortable songes grounded on Gods worde, "and taken some out of the holy scripture specyally out of the Psalmes "of David, at whō wolde God that oure musicians wolde lerne to make "theyr songes:—As for the comē sorte of balettes which now are used "in y^{e} world, I reporte me to every good mans cōsciēce what wycked "frutes they brynge.—Alas the worlde is all to full of vicious and evell "lyvers alredy. It is no nede to cast oyle in y^{e} fyre. Oure owne "nature provoketh us to vyces (God knoweth) all to sore. No man "nedeth entysynge therto."—

"Now (beloved reader) thou seist the occasyon of this my small "labour. Wherfore yf thou perceavest, that the very worde of God is "y^e^ master therof, I praye the accepte it, use it, and provoke youth unto "y^e^ same. And yf thou felest in thine hert, that all the lordes dealynge "is very mercy & kyndnes, cease not then to be thākfull unto hym "therfore: but in thy myrth be alwaye syngyng of him, that his "blessed name may be praysed now and ever. Amen."

This title and address occupy iv leaves, with the signature ✠. Then begin, "Goostly Psalmes," &c. in various metres, with musical notes; fol. i. continued to fol. lvi.; on the reverse of the last, is a table of the Songs contained: among them are, the Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and Psalms xi, ii, xlv, cxxiii, cxxxvi, cxxvii, l, cxxix, xxiiii, lxvii, xiii, cxlvii, and cxxxiii. Coverdale did not versify the xixth psalm. The type is Gothic. This work is without date, but it must have been printed before 1538, if it is the same book as the "Psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holie Scripture," mentioned by Fox, as being by Coverdale, and as one of the books prohibited by the injunctions of the King in 1538, (there improperly described as of 1539,) A. & M. p. 573, ed. 1563; but this list of books does not occur in the subsequent editions, at least not in those of 1576, 1583, 1641, and 1684, nor is it given in Wilkins' Conc. M. B. where the injunctions are reprinted. It may very probably be alluded to by Bale, when he speaks amongst Coverdale's works, of "AD OMNEM STATUM RHYTHMI." ed. 1548. For a specimen of one of these psalms, see page 104. Cotton is the only one who has mentioned this work, of which only a single copy seems to be known to be extant, which is in Queen's Coll. Oxford.

52. 1. AN EXPOSITION UPON MAGNIFICAT, from the Latin.

2. THE ORIGINAL AND SPRING OF ALL SECTS, from the German.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*] He says that these two works were published in the time of Hen. viii., and quotes as his authority, Fox, 1st ed. p. 574, by which he would seem to mean, that they were prohibited by the proclamation of 1538, and therefore printed prior to that date.

53. "¶ HOW AND WHITHER A CHRYSTEN MAN OUGHT TO FLY THE HORRYBLE PLAGUE OF THE PESTILENCE. A Sermon out of the Psalme. Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi. ¶ Translated out of hie Almaine into Englishe. ¶ *Jmprinted at London by Leonarde Askell.*" This title is in a compartment with the Queen's arms at top, the Stationers' at bottom, and T. Purfoot's mark on each

side. It contains C, in eights, and the running title is, "A sermon vpon the. xci. psalme." At the end of the sermon; "¶ *Translated by M. C.* (Miles Coverdale) *out of hye Almayne, Anno.* 1537."

Then, "A COMFORT CONCERNING THEM THAT BE DEAD. ¶ Hovve Wyfe, chyldren, and other frendes shalbe comforted, the husband being dead." Colophon; "¶ *Imprinted — by Leonarde Askell for Thomas Purfoote dwelling in Powles church yarde at the signe of the Lucrece.*"

8vo.

[*Herbert*, p. 593.] Herbert had a copy in his possession of the above tracts, and he seems to speak of them, as if they had been printed together, and as if the second as well as the first, was by Coverdale. Tanner however, does not mention the second amongst the works of Coverdale. Bale tells us that the first work was written by Coverdale, as he mentions in his list of Coverdale's translations, the following: OSIANDER SUPER, QUI HABITAT. See article 10.

54. "A CONFUTACION OF THAT TREATISE, WHICH ONE JOHN STANDISH MADE agaynst the protestacion of D. BARNES in the yeare. M.D.XL. Wherin, the holy scriptures (peruerted and wrested in his sayd treatise) are restored to their owne true vnderstonding agayne by Myles Couerdale. Iacobi iij. *Nolite gloriari, & mendaces esse aduersus ueritatem.*"

12mo.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] Herbert had a copy he says in 8vo. p. 1556. This is addressed "To all them that either reade or heare "gods holy worde, and geue ouer them selues to lyue vnfaynedly acord-"ing to the same," &c. The address begins thus: "The seventh daye "of Decembre, was delyuered vnto me a certayne treatyse, composed "by one John Standish Felow of Whittington college in londō (so is "the tytle of it) and prynted by Robert Redeman, Anno M.D.XL. iij. "Nonas Octobris." He remarks, "there is now a wonderful diuersite "in writing bokes and balates in England, one enueyenge agaynst "another, one reuylinge and reprouyng another, one reioysinge at "anothers fall and aduersite. And not onely this, but also at the "ende of euery balate or boke in maner (whether it be the better "partye or worse) is set the Kynges priuilege. Which as it is agaynst "the glorye of god that one shulde reuyle another, Js it not euen "so agaynst the Kynges honoure (Yee the shame is it of all Englande) "that vnder his priuilege anye erroneous, contentious, or slaunderous

" boke or papyre shulde be prynted? Men wonder in other contrees, " that ther is so greate negligence of this matter, in a realme where " so wyse and prudent a counsail is."

He then takes the sentences of Standish to which he objects, and confutes them one by one, and examines each of the positions of Barnes, which he supports and illustrates. This work is principally on the doctrine of good works, which he says can do nothing of themselves without faith; and on the satisfaction that Christ made for us. He says that Barnes in maintaining the first, did not mean to assert, that therefore good works were not to be performed, as Standish would infer.

In the conclusion of his work he exhorts the reader not to let the number of those who are the enemies of God's word appal him; for that God, as he may learn from the Scripture, will always defend his own, and he will find that at all times there have been persecutions of those who worshipped God, and also lying and false prophets; and that some part of the seed of Christ when sown, has always fallen on stony ground, where it withered, or the thorns choked it up. He therefore exhorts the reader to follow the example of many godly and holy men, which are before him, who have trod in the path of God's word: but only to follow them as far as they followed Christ, and no farther. " And as touchinge anye maner of doctryne, beleue no man " without gods worde, acording as. S. Hierome counceleth the. Jn " Epistolam ad Gal. ca. v. For certaine it is, that like as many tymes " thou shalt spie euen great faultes in the conuersaciō of gods electe, " so readest thou of very few teachers sens the Apostles tyme, which " haue not erred (and that grossely) in sondry thinges.

" Wherfore whom so euer thou hearest teach, preach or wryte, or " whose bokes so euer thou readest, trye them by gods worde, whether " they be agreable ther to or no. Whan thou knowest them (J saye) " and art certayne and sure by Christes doctryne, that they are false, " sedicious or abhominable, then hold them accursed, avoyde them " utterly, eschue them in anye wise, and geue ouer thy selfe to the " wholsome hearing and readinge of the scripture. But so, that thou " be sober and discrete in the knowlege and vse therof, And that in " confessing the true faith and beleue of Christ, thy hart mouth and " dede go together, and that thou cōsent to none opinion contrary to the " same. That god maye haue the prayse, and thy neghboure be edified " in all thy conuersacion. So doyng, thou shalt not onely stoppe the " mouth of euell speakers, but also allure and prouoke other men to be " frutefully geuē to faith and good workes, and to helpe (with such " their vnfained faith and godly liuinge) that the tabernacle of god

" maye be set vp againe. The grace of our lorde Jesus Christ be with " us all. Amen."

Fuller extracts from this work will be found in the 6th volume of the works of the British Reformers.

It contains n 7, in eights. On the last leaf " Iacobi.iij. Yf ye haue " a bytter Zele, and there be contencions in youre hartes, make no " boast, neither be lyars agaynst the trueth." The back blank. In an angular Swiss or German type, similar to that of the Bible of 1550. The extracts from Standish and Barnes, are in a larger and rather different type. No date or name of place or printer. See art. 19.

55. 1. A CHRISTIAN CATECHISM.
2. 'CANTUS USUALES WITEBERGENSIUM.'
3. THE APOLOGY OF THE GERMANS AGAINST THE COUNCIL OF MANTUA.

[*Bale, ed.* 1548.] The last two he says were translations. They must all however have been printed before 1548. We have no other authority for them than Bale.

56. "DECLARATION OF THE ORDER that the Churches in Denmarke and many other places in Germany do vse, not onely at the holye Supper, but also at Baptisme. By Miles Couerdale. Printed beyond sea."

12mo.

[*Maunsell, Catal.* pp. 39 & 93.] Herbert p. 1753. He says in 16mo. Perhaps this is the same work with the " ORDO CHRISTIANUS CŒNÆ DOMINI," mentioned in Bale in the edition of 1548, as one of Coverdale's works, and called, " ORDO RECTUS CŒNÆ DOMINI " in the edition of 1559; and if so, it must have been printed at least prior to 1548. See the following article.

57. "A FAYTHFUL AND MOOST GODLYE TREATYSE concernynge the most sacret sacrament of the blessed body and bloude of oure sauioure Christe, compiled by John Caluyne, a man of no lesse lernyng and literature, then Godlye studye, and example of liuynge, And translated into Latyne by Lacius, a man of like excellencie. And nowe laste of all, translated into Englishe by a faythfull brother, no lesse desirous to profyt the weake brothers then to exercise the talent of the Lorde to his honoure and glorye. *In declaration whereof, he hath set before this litle booke an Epistle to the reader much more effectuous then in the*

fyrst edicion. ☞ Whereunto the order that the Churche and congregation of Christ in Denmarke doth vse *at the receiuinge of Baptisme, the Supper of the Lorde, and Wedlocke:* is added. ☞ *Myles Couerdale.* Luke. xix. Chapter. Be doyng till J come." Contains F, in eights. "*Imprinted—by John Day and Wyllyam Seres—in Sepulchres Parish &c. Cum gratia & priuilegio—solum.*"

8vo.

[*Herbert*, p. 676-7.] "This book should contain 21 pages of an address to the reader. The leaves are not numbered, but have signatures and catch-words." Dibdin, vol. iv. p. 173. Another edition, probably the first, is without the printer's name or place: in the title of which the words here marked in Italics are omitted. Herbert had a copy of both editions. Mr. Heber had a copy of the first. Berkenhout says it is printed in 12mo. John Day, the printer, began printing in 1546, and his last book with date is in 1584. The work printed with it, is the same as the one in the preceding article.

58. "A SPIRITUALL AND MOST PRECIOUS PERLE, teaching all men to love and embrace the cross as a most sweet and necessary thing unto the soul, &c. written for thy comfort, by a learned preacher, OTHO. WERMYLIERVS, and translated into English by MILES COVERDALE." At the end: *by Hugh Singleton,* "*at the Golden Tunn in Creed-lane, near Ludgate. Cum Privilegio.*"

16mo.

[*Ames*, p. 261-2.] A copy in his possession. Mr. Herbert has added nothing. There is a preface from the printer to the reader thus: "Whereas (by the sinister dealing of some) this boke hath gone abroad, "as imprinted by me, with mo and greater faultes then either hath or "shall (I hope) be found by any boke imprinted by me, indeed I have "thought it good to set it forth once againe, according to the true copy "of that translation, that I received at the hands of M. doctour Milo "Coverdale, at whose hand I received also the copyes of three other "workes of Otho Wermulerus, a German preacher in the city of Tigurie, "who wrote them in the Germain tongue, as he did certain bookes moe, "which are not as yet turned into the Englishe tongue. The names of "those bookes, which are translated, are these: the precious pearle, "which the author calleth, of affliction; another of death; the third of "justification; and the fourth of the hope of the faithful. These I "have imprinted with as greate diligence as I coulde, and I hope ac-"cording to the copies, that I received from the translator of them, how-"soever the same have been by others thrust out in my name, corruptly

" enough to my great discredite, and some hindrance also, but with the " greatest displeasure to the buyers. Mine hearty desire hath been (deare " reader) alway to be so occupyed, that I might live by profiting others, " in such sort as that excellent prince, the late duke of Somerset, and " uncle to good king Edward the sixte, wished this pearle to be im- " printed, after he in his trouble had felt the commodity of it; which " was, that other mighte reape the like commodity by the same. Take " therefore thys precious pearle, now brought to that brightness, that " it had, when it first came oute imprynted by me, and use it to thy " comforte in all thy distresses. And for the comforte, that thou shallt " find therin, give God the whole prayse. Farewell, quod Hugh Sin- " gleton." Then his mark and motto, GOD IS MY HELPER. " John Allde printed one edition of this book for him without date." Dibdin, Typ. Ant. vol. iv. p. 298. Watt says of this edition; " Reprinted by Singleton. Without date, but about 1588." For other editions, see art. 37 and 44.

Another translation of this or a similar work it would seem, was printed by Berthelet. It was dedicated " To the right honorable, " and his syngular good lorde and mayster, Lord Thomas Crumwel, " Lord Priuy seale," The following is the title: " ¶ OF THE PRE- " PARATION TO THE CROSSE, and to Deathe, and of the comforte vnder " the crosse and deathe, two bokes very fruictefull for deuoute people " to rede, translated from latyn to englysshe, by Rycharde Tracy." In an architective compartment. On the sell " 1534." Colophon " ¶ *LONDINI in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum priuilegio* " *ad imprimendum solum.* ANNO. M.D.XL" This colophon is, however, to a table of contents, which is in a different type to the rest of the work. From a copy in Sion College, on yellow paper.

There is also a work entitled " An exhortacion to the carienge of Chrystes crosse," which has been considered by many writers as identical with this " Precious Perle"; but they are evidently two distinct works, as the latter is a translation from the German, and one edition of it was published as early as in 1550, whilst the former is an original work, and written by one of the exiles in Mary's time, and therefore could not have been published before the end of 1553. Strype says about 1554. It does not, however, follow from this, that the former work may not also have been written by Coverdale, although we have no particular reason for thinking so.

Through the kindness of George Offor, Esq. the author has been favoured with the loan of this rare and curious little tract. It is in a small angular Swiss or German type, without name of place, printer, or year. It is thus entitled:

" An exhortacion to the carienge of Chrystes crosse, wyth a true and brefe confutacion of false and papisticall doctryne. ☞ ☞ 2. Timo. 3. ☞ All, that wyll lyue godly in Chryste Jesu, must suffer persecucyon. ☜"

It contains K vi, in eights, and numbers 153 pages, besides the table of the chapters, which occupy 3 more. Dibdin mentions it as printed by Hugh Singleton, on what authority we know not. Typ. Ant. vol. iv. p. 300. A strain of sound and pertinent argument runs through this little work, which is very fruitful in metaphors. Extracts are given by Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 151, and we therefore only add the following, from the 4th chapter, entitled " ¶ The crosse is commodyous " and profytable."

" No castigacion or punishement is swete or ioyous for the present " time, but greuous: neuer the les, afterwarde it bryngeth the quiet " frute of rightuousnesse vnto them, whyche are exercised therin. As " we see in medicynes: the more wholsome they be, the more vnplea- " saunte often tymes is the taiste. As in purgacions, pilles and such " like bitter thīgs. Yet vpon the phisicians worde we wil gladly " dryncke them, for the profit whych cōmeth of thē. And, dearely " beloued, although to lose lyfe, goodes or frendes, for gods gospels " sake, seme a bitter and sower thynge: Yet, seeing our phisician, " whych can not lye (Jesus Chryst J meane) telleth vs that it is veri " wholsome, how so euer it be toothsome: let vs with good chere take " y^e^ cuppe at hys hande, and drynke it merely.

" Jf the cup seme vnpleasaunt, and the drynke to bytter, let vs put " some suger therin: euē a pece of that, whych Moses caste into the " bytter water, and made it pleasaunt. J meane an vnce or quantitie " of Chrystes afflicciōs and crosse, whych he suffred for vs.

" If we cal these to mynd, and cast of them into our cuppe (con- " syderyng what he was, what he suffred, of whom, for whom, to what " ende, and what came ther of) surely we can not lothe oure medicine, " but wynke and drynke it lustely." p. 58, 9.

There is also a curious simile in page 120, in which the mass is likened to a " mairmade, to amase and bewitche men, sayling in the " seas of this life, to be enamored on her."

59. "A CHRISTĒ EXHORTACION VNTO CUSTOMABLE SWEARERS. ¶ What a righte and lawful othe is: whan, and before whom it ought to be. ¶ Jtem. THE MANNER OF SAYING GRACE, or geuying thākes vnto God. Whosoever heareth Goddes worde, beleue it, and do thereafter, shall be saued." In a compartment frequently used by this printer, Nicholas Hill, with a cherubic head at top, and

N. H. on the sell. At the end is; "A SHORTE INSTRUCTIŌ TO THE WORLDE," in seven-lined stanzas; addressed to kings, judges, counsellors, chamberlains, stewards, treasurers, controllers, and priests. "¶ *Jmprinted—by Nicholas Hyll, for Abraham Vele.*" 16mo.

[*Herbert*, p. 711.] He had a copy in his possession. He says, "also printed for Richard Kele. Contains E 4, in eights, the last blank." See art. 24.

60. "THE ACTES OF THE DISPUTATION in the cowncell of the empyre, holden at Regenspurg: that is to say, all the artycles concerning the christen relygion, both agreed and not agreed upon, even as they were propowned of the emperour unto the nobles of the empire, to be judged, delebered, and debated, &c. Translated owt of Latyne into English, by Mylys Couerdale." 8vo.

[*Herbert*, p. 1553.] "In this book are the names of all the states, which are called Protestants." Ames had a copy. Printed also in 1542, see art. 22.

61. "THE SUPPLICATION THAT THE NOBLES AND COMMONS OF OSTERICKE MADE VNTO KINGE FERDINANDUS, in the cause of christian religion, with the Kings answere, &c." Translated by Miles Couerdale.

[*Maunsell, Catal.* p. 39.] quoted by Herbert. From the title as given by Tanner, it would appear that "Ostericke" means "Austria."

62. A SPIRITUALL ALMANACKE. Printed in thin 12mo. London, black letter. 12mo.

[*Berkenhout, Biogr. Lit.*] Perhaps the same as that mentioned by Tanner as printed with the Faithful Prognostication. See art. 30.

63. "THE CHRISTEN STATE OF MATRIMONYE. The orygenall of holy wedlok: whan, where, how, and of whom it was instituted & ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceade: what be the occasions, frute and commodities therof. Contrary wyse, how shamefull & horrible a thinge whordome & aduoutry is: How one oughte also to chose hym a mete and conuenient spouse to kepe and increace the mutuall loue, trouth and dewtie of wedloke: and how maried folkes shulde bring vp their children in the feare of god. Translated by Myles Couerdale." 12mo.

[*Copy in the British Museum.*] There is no date to this edition, or name of place, unless perhaps the former has been obliterated; as there are something like marks of such being the case at the foot of the title page. After the title-page comes an address of "The autor to "the Christen Readers." in which he sets forth the many "greuous "synnes" that exist, and how little they are thought of or condemned.

"For," says he, "no man is despised, reproued ℭ resisted for quarel-"ing, vsury, whordome, swearyng, lyeng, dronckēnesse, glotony, vayne "songes, wordes, talkynges and gestures. But yf a man speake of "god, and reproue such conuersation for a vayne and vngodly lyuyng, "or do synge of god, or medle with such songes as are made of the "gracious work of y^e^ holy gospell, agaynst falshode, ypocrisye, ydolatrye "and vyce. He maye not be suffred, he shall soone be despysed as "one that slaundreth honest folkes, and medleth with new straunge "thynges."

This address occupies 3 pages. Then the work itself lxxviii. fol. Then a table of contents, which is imperfect. In "The .xix. Chapter." of this work, entitled "Of conuenient Carefulnes and iust keping of the house lyke Cristen folke." is the following:

"What so euer is to be done without the house, that belongeth to "the mā, ℭ the womā to studye for thinges within to be done, and to "se saued or spent conueniently whatsoeuer he bringeth in. As the "birde fleeth to and fro to bring to the nest, so becōmeth it the mā to "apply his vtward busynes, And as the damme kepeth the nest, hatch-"eth the egges, ℭ bringe forth the frute, so let them bothe lerne to do of "the vnreasonable fowles or bestes created of god naturally to obserue "theyr sondrye propertyes." Fol. lxiij. b.

He exhorteth to honest industry; "And yf thou (for all thy true and "iust dealinge) yet prosperoussest not, subiect to many euel chaūces, "wherof the worlde isfull, yet be thou contēt with goddes wyll, for the "pouertye of the rightwyse, sayth Solomon, is beter then the infinite "tresurs of the vngodly. And a peese of bred or a messe of potage "with quietnes, is better then a fat oxe with brawlinge."—Fol. lxiiij.

"The wyues workynge place is wythyn her howse ther to ouersee "and to set all thinge in good order, and to beware that nothynge be "loste, seldome to go forth, but when vrgēt causes calle hir forth. And "therfore Phidias that ingenuouse workeman intendinge to descrybe "an honest faithfull houswyfe, dyd set hir image vnder the shell of a "snayle, signifyinge that she shulde euer more kepe hir owne howse. "Necessarey it is that she knowe these comon sentences ℭ lerne thē by "hert. Thou must not regarde what thyng thou woldest fayne haue, "but what thou cannest not lake. Strech out thine arme no farther

" then thy aleue wyll retche. What soeuer thou nedest not, is to dear " of a farthing. Who so spareth not the penye shall neuer come by " the pownde. Sparinge is a ryche purse. A thing is soner spared " then goten, Spare as though thou neuer shuldest dye, ℭ yet as mor- " tall spend mesurably. To spare, that thou mayest haue to spend in " honestye for goodes saake, and in necessyte, is well done. Thy " sparyng is but vayne when thou art come to the botome. Begynne " euery thing in dewe ceason. What soeuer thou mayest do to nyght, " dyferre it not tyll to morowe. That whych thou cannest do conue- " niētly thyselfe, commytte it not to another. Jf thou wilt prospere, " then loke to euery thynge thy nowne self, let it not be lost that may " do any good in tyme to come. Spēd nomore then thou wotest howe " to gete it: when thyne expenses ℭ receytes be a lyke, a lytle losse " maye ouerthrow the. Spare for thyne age. Take payns in thyne " yougth. Bye such thynge as thou nedest not to repent the therof. " Uyle pedlary bringeth beggerye. Araye thy self honestlye. Holde " thy chyldren in awe, ℭ they shall haue the in reuerēce. Mich spend- " inge and many gyftes, make bare celars and empty chystes. Euell " felowshyp and vayne pastyme maryeth pouertye and begettith a sonne " called derision, lyueth gorgeously and costely in excesse and leaueth " the a fare well, whose name is thys. Jn thyne age go a begginge: " Suche and many mo godly ℭ wyse sentences " &c. Fol. lxvi.

As to the education of children; " And her must ye chose out dis- " crete, lerned ℭ godly masters for your chyldren, whych shall accord- " ing to their capacities iently ℭ wysely enstructe them, as is contayned " in their prymers in Englysh and dialoges as are ther made for them, " whych when they can reade both prynted and wrytten letters, ℭ can " wel committe that thei haue lerned to memory saynig it distincly ℭ " perfecly by hert, thē let them lerne to wryte, to cast a compte, to " cyfre, adde, subtrayc. ℭ cet. And let thē excersyse their pēne ℭ their " tongues in recadyng diuerse printed bokes pertayninge to the holy " scriptures, and come to ℭ heare the trwe prechers of goddis worde ℭ " in anyewise let them not heare the papistike prechers, and when they " come home from any good sermone aske thē what they haue borne " awaye, ℭ exhorte them to marke diligently a nother tyme and to " reherse it when they come home. Let them saye the graces at the " tables, Let thē prepare the table ℭ serue you thereat clenly and " manerlye. Let thē spende all the tyme in vertuws vses ℭ neuer be " idle," &c.—" be not to roughe nor to hastye with them, but so order " your selues to them that they maye bothe loue and feare you." Fol. lxx.

As to the bringing up of young maidens: " Let not your yōg

" daughters be toproudly ℭ costely appareld, but modestly ℭ honestly, " for thys gorgyouse apparel is not els but a minstrelsye pypynge vp a " daunce vnto all lecherye." Fol. lxxiij.

" As for ientle wemen ℭ suche as are of noble byrthe, whether they " may excede in lyght ℭ wanton aparell, or in apparell to costly. J will " first aske them whether they be Christen ℭ faythfull wemen or vn- " faythfull? Jf they be vnbeleuers then let them walke as they list, " And the more gorgyouse tenderlynges they be, the better shall they " please their heade the deuyll. And seinge they haue wantō proude " sprytes, they must nedes haue lyke garmentes to declare what they be " within in hert and mynde, wyth these wemen, J wyll not wrestle. " But yf they be Chrysten faythfull wemen, they maye well knowe " that the holy Apostles Peter and Paul haue wrytē their exhortacyōs " for sober apparell, vnto them which haue suche ryche iewels, stones, " gold ℭ syluer, ℭ not to poore women that haue them not. Seing then " that the worde of God is pryncipally spoken to you that be ientle " womē of noble parentele whych haue these riches and Jewels to laye' " thē awaye wyth all youre pōpe and pryde, ℭ wylbe taken for Chrysten " folkes, then folowe you the exhortations of the mynystres of Jesu " Christ.

" Moreouer ye shulde remember what is the very nobilite, ℭ what " maketh ientle men and wemē, that it is not apparell, but mekenes, " iētle behauyour, discrete conuersacyon, prudence, wysdome, lernynge " ℭ vertue." &c. Fol. lxxiij—iiij.

See art. 21, 23, 27, 38 & 39.

64. "A CONFUTATION OF A SERMON OF DR. WESTON'S at Paul's Cross, 20th Oct. 1553. MS. formerly in the possession of Jo. Fox, p. 1466."

MS.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*] The reference is to the first edition of Fox. This sermon of Dr. Weston's was to desire the people to pray for the departed souls, "who were neither in heaven nor hell, but in a " place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, in order that they " might be relieved by the devout prayers of the congregation."

65. " A LETTER IN ENGLISH, in the time of Queen Mary." Pr. " It moch rejoyceth my poore heart." MS. in Emanuel College, Camb. amongst the letters of the martyrs.

MS.

[*Tanneri Bibl. Brit. Hib.*]

There is a work seemingly by Coverdale, which we have however hesitated to set down in the foregoing list. It is thus entitled: "A Brieff "discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno "Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off off common prayer and Ceremo- "nies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. "Maries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the "very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn, and "what was the cause off the same. by M. C." A text from "Marc. 4." fol. Liter. Goth. "R. G." with his mark. "M.D.LXXV." Then comes a preface signed "M. Couerdale." Great part of this work might have been written by our bishop, and is very much in his style, and the subject matter is such as he might be supposed to be well acquainted with; but then other parts are obviously by third parties, for at the end, there is this concluding paragraph: "And it maie here also be noted, "that the moste auncientest fathers of this oure owne countrie, as "maister Couerdale, maister D. Turner, maister Whithead, and many "others, some dead some yet liuinge from whose mouthes and pennes, the "vrgers of theis receiued first the light off the gospell could neuer be "brought to yelde or consent vnto such thinges as arenow forced with "so greate extremitie. Finis." The first and sometimes the third person are used by the writer. If we suppose that it was written by Coverdale, and published after his death, and perhaps edited by one or two of his friends, who interspersed their own remarks, and added to his unfinished MS., we shall yet find a difficulty in this; that in the preface signed by Coverdale, allusion is made to things occurring in 1573, four years after his death. If we suppose that he did not write it, and that his name was put to it merely to obtain credit, it was but a shallow device to insert a preface to which his name was affixed, and which it was very clear he could not have written. We may then assume that this M. Coverdale is a different person from our bishop, but we have not the slightest grounds to support such an opinion, if we except a paragraph in Lewis's history of the English translations of the Bible, in which he states, that one of the same name was made a bachelor of canon law in 1530; but he quotes no authority, and we are inclined to think, from the search we have made for one without success, that Mr. Lewis made a mistake in this assertion. We must leave this matter with the reader, confessing ourselves unable to offer any satisfactory explanation. It is rather curious that neither Strype nor any other, who have referred to this book, have in any way alluded to the author, but have treated it apparently as if it were anonymous.

J. Rider, Printer, 14, Bartholomew Close, London.

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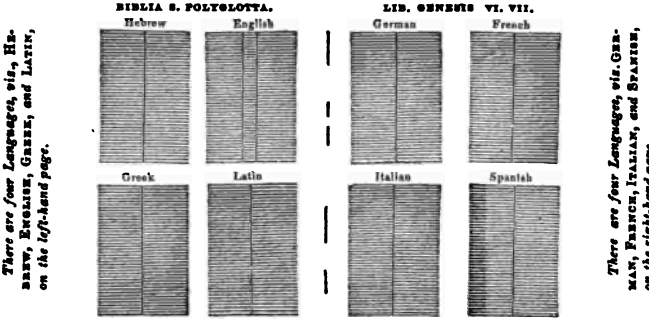

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By reading the TEXT of this verse, it will be seen that the word '*Blessed*' is the first of the sentence illustrated by the references which follow it, and by the second word '*layeth*,' the end of the first sentence and the beginning of the second are determined, and so on throughout. The additions to a single word point out the particular part of the verse when the same word twice occurs; thus '*keepeth the*' and '*keepeth his*' occur in this case. When the references illustrate the whole verse, the italic words are not printed, because not required.

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